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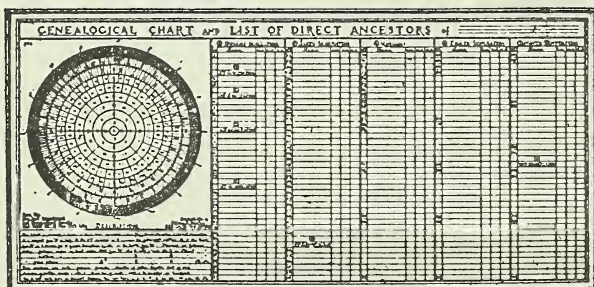
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Number 1

RUNNING THE BLOCKADE: HENRY HOLLYDAY JOINS THE CONFEDERACY

Edited by FREDERIC B. M. HOLLYDAY

Henry Hollyday (1836-1921) of "Readbourne," Queen Anne's County, was the son of Henry Hollyday (1798-1865) of "Readbourne," who married in 1826 his first cousin, Anna Maria Hollyday (1805-1855) daughter of Henry Hollyday of "Ratcliffe," Talbot County, and Ann (Carmichael) Hollyday.

The Hollyday families' sympathies during the Civil War were on the Southern side. Henry Hollyday's first cousins, William Henry (1834-1864) and Lamar Hollyday (1841-1934) both served in the Confederate Army, as did other cousins. William Henry Hollyday was killed at the battle of Cold Harbor, June 3, 1864, while serving in the Second Maryland Infantry under General R. E. Lee. Lamar was perhaps the cousin who accompanied Henry in running the blockade. Henry Hollyday's mother's first cousin and brother-in-law was the noted Southern sympathizer, Judge Richard Bennett Carmichael.

After the war Henry engaged in farming and managed the family estate of "Readbourne." In 1869 he married Sarah Hughlett (1850-1878). After her death, he, in 1881, married Margaretta Maxwell

Chilton (1852-1925). On the death of his uncle, Thomas Robins Hollyday (1814-1881) he inherited his estate of "Lee Haven." He later served as an officer of the Easton National Bank.

The text was taken from the MS written by Henry Hollyday after the Civil War, now in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Robins Hollyday of Easton. It was published, in an abbreviated form, in the *Baltimore Telegram* and the *Easton Star Democrat* about two and a half decades ago.

"RUNNING THE BLOCKADE"

In the summer of 1862 . . . citizens . . . of the United States . . . were exercised over a Draft, which had been called by President Lincoln, to fill up the decimated ranks of the "Union" or "Northern Army."

Hundreds of young men, who were liable to be drafted under this order rather than be forced to take up arms against those who were battling for "States Rights," left their homes, the ease and luxury of social life, to enter the ranks of the "Confederate" or "Southern Army" although well aware that they would have to endure hardships, and encounter dangers.

In order to reach the "Southern Confederacy," or cross the line which divided the two sections and which was disputed ground, during the war, it became necessary to "Run the Blockade." This article is written in order to give an account of the incidents and dangers of one of these routes.

Among the class of young men, above mentioned, were two, one a resident [sic] of New York City; the other for many years a resident of Philadelphia though at the period now referred to he was living in the Town of C——e.¹

On the evening of September [—] 1862, these young friends and cousins, met at their old family mansion,² situated on Chester River, a fine old English building erected somewhere about the year 1720, one hundred and forty-two years before; here preparations were made for the journey which was to separate them from their friends and relations for many weary, toilsome, days. Every precaution had to be observed, to prevent suspicion, on the part of some of the servants of the house, as to what the unusual stir meant, for they were tampered with constantly by *extra zealous* supporters of the Northern cause, who were ever³ seeking an opportunity to entrap Southern Sympathizers. So cautiously were these preparations made, that friends visiting the house knew nothing of the movement until sometime after the Blockade Runners had left.

The next morning, about nine o'clock, after bidding farewell to their loved ones, receiving in return blessings, and prayers for their success, they

¹ Centreville.

² "Readbourne," built about 1730.

³ The word "ever" is crossed out in original.

drove off full of hope for the future, but full of sorrow at leaving, not knowing for how long, or where, the journey would take them; neither of them returned until after the surrender at "Appomattox Court House" April 9, 1865 . . . one being but a wreck of his former self, caused by exposure and want of proper food and clothing while in active service, the other ⁴ being marred for life at the Battle of Gettysburg July 3, 1863.

From the hour of leaving these young men were liable to arrest, and if captured would have either been sent to prison, Fort Delaware being the nearest point, or released upon taking an oath of allegiance to the U. S. authorities, an oath which no honorable man could take, who was not in sympathy with its requirements—an ample supply of Gold and a limited supply of clothing were received for the trip—a trustworthy citizen had been secured to drive these travellers to the Town of S—a ⁵ Smyrna Del. where a staunch Southern Sympathizer would entertain them. The route to It was void of any interest, the country through which the route lay being thinly settled and not improved, . . . As Sy—a was approached the land showed a higher state of cultivation, and the surrounding country formed a very attractive framing to this village picture.

S—y—a was reached about sundown, when the hospitalities of the friend were enjoyed—and such information gained as would aid these travellers in their adventurous journey.

All the arrangements on the upper end of the "underground route" were in complete working order, this friend with whom our travellers stayed, being a volunteer agent, it was therefore safe for them to entrust the nature of their mission to him.

The next morning, the route was continued to Dover, the capital of Delaware, where a Political Convention was being held, and where strangers from all parts of the state had gathered, the presence of our young friends, therefore created no especial notice; being looked upon as visitors for the occasion. It was about midday when Dover was reached and as the train for Seaford did not leave until 3:00 P. M., the interval was taken up with visiting the Convention, the state buildings—and dining at the Hotel.

The citizen, who had driven them across from Md. to this point, being compelled to return to his home, bade adieu to his companions, returning over the ground just travelled. As the time for the cars to leave for Seaford, arrived, these young men approached the Depot, where a sight of "Boys in Blue" "Provost Guards" convinced them that the route had its dangers, these soldiers were stationed at the Depot to intercept suspicious characters; but little did they realize, that the train as it started off southward, contained two *Rebels* aboard.⁶ Great was the relief of our travellers when they found the train rapidly carrying them away from immediate danger, and onward to Seaford where they would remain that night.

⁴ Henry Hollyday.

⁵ Crossed out in original and Smyrna substituted.

⁶ Indistinct in original.

Being strangers in this section—knowing no one, they depended entirely upon a pass word for safe transit, and comfortable accommodations; this pass word proved as valuable to them as the countersign to a picket, when doing duty on the outpost of Army lines.

Toward sundown the train reached Seaford and all the passengers had left. Except an elderly gentleman and our travellers, it was deemed most prudent to join [gain?] if possible, some information as to the location of the town—its surroundings, the character of its people, and their sympathizers in this great contest, for there was scarcely one man, woman, or child throughout the entire land, who had not become identified in some way with one or other of the contending forces; fortunately this elderly gentleman proved to be "the right man in the right place" he being the father-in-law of the gentleman to whom our young friends were to introduce themselves that evening, and from whom such additional information was to be gained, as would insure the safety of their movements the next day.

If the reader asks was it prudent to thus interview an entire stranger? Might not [it] arouse his suspicions? It is answered that this information was obtained by adopting the Yankee system of asking questions, but not answering any, what is understood by the word "pumping."

From the depot our travellers went to the hotel and there ascertained the exact location of Mr. M—u[s]'s residence soon finding the way thither; Upon giving the pass word Mr. M—u cordially received them introducing them to his wife and several agreeable daughters, whose society added greatly to the enjoyment of a first rate supper. This was the last of its kind they were permitted to enjoy for several years.

About 10 'oc on returning to the town, in order to carry out instructions received from Mr. M—u they called on a Doctor, who was agent at this point, he at once responded to the pass word given inviting them into his office where he related many interesting incidents which as agent had come to his notice; as a number of men, who bore an active part in the Southern ranks, had passed over this route.

They were informed by this agent that in the morn[in]g, a reliable citizen would call on them and invite them to join him in a ride—which invitation they must accept, nothing doubting.

Returning to the hotel they soon sought rest for the night, not however without doubts as to their perfect security—for so long as they were within reach of telegram and railroads they were liable to arrest but the next day found them safe, ready for whatever arrangement had been made:—true to the word the invitation for a ride was given, and accepted. Mine host of the hotel served [as] a friend and when the hour for parting arrived he "speeded the parting guests" and many wishes for their success—slipping into the hands of each a buckshot, which would prove a talisman of safety for the rest of the day.

The gentleman selected as escort and guide for the ensuing day or two was thoroughly acquainted with a . . . route to be taken and into a one horse buggy and our travellers and companions, started off westward, for Dorchester Co. to find a retired spot away from the gaze of Provost Guards

to remain their [sic] until a party had been collected sufficiently large to justify the Blockade Captain in setting sail for Virginia.

The road from Seaford to Crotcher's Ferry, in Dorchester Co.—where the Nanticoke River is crossed by all travelers passing between Seaford and Vienna, and where our friends remained several days, passed through a very unattractive section of the Peninsula. "Johnson's Cross Roads" being the only point of note on the route, here the counties of Sussex Del. and Caroline and Dorchester Md. join. Our friend halted here to refresh man and beast, among the persons whom they met was the Sheriff of one of the above mentioned counties and had he known the character of his new acquaintances, would have found accommodations for them in the County Jail for a while at least, he being a violent ⁷ Union man—

It was not intended that a Sheriff's authority should check these young men's steps so onward they went, until a farmhouse was reached just across, the Ferry, this farmer was to be guardian over them during the time they remained in Dor. Co. One fact which presented ⁸ [sic] suspicion on the part of those whose duty it was to arrest all doubtful characters, was our friends; both of them, had lived so long in Northern Cities, that they had acquired both the manners and speech of that section: from observation the writer learned that persons' homes at least as far as states are concerned can readily be ascertained by simply noting their manners and speech.

This farm house which gave shelter to our friends was on the public road. And whenever persons were noticed approaching it, from either direction; safety was sought in a neighborly cornfield.

The guide remained, so as to secure their safe passage . . . , over the river to Somerset Co. now Wicomico: but he mist [sic] asking [about] the roads in this section; came very near running himself and companions into the enemy's camp.

Starting early the next morning—after doing many miles and not reaching the point to which they had been directed—enquiry was made by the way side for Mr. R—h— A house was pointed out but it proved to be the residence of another Mr. R—h ⁹ who was not the active agent of the "Underground route" and late in the war arrested and placed in prison—for aiding Rebels. On driving up to the house the lady of the [house] being the only person at home, received our friends, and from them ¹⁰ [sic] learned that her husband was a Union man of the Ultra-Stripe—this lady had a son in the Southern Army—so long therefore as the husband was absent they had nothing to fear.

Having introduced themselves, one as a merchant from N. Y. one a merchant from Phila. on their way to New Market, Cambridge and other points to solicit trade, the escort being a Dentist from Salisbury who was known by reputation . . . in the surrounding country, as it was necessary to seem to be on the way to the towns named and the horse's head was turned in that direction. But as soon as they were out of sight—screened

⁷ Crossed out in original.

⁸ Prevented.

⁹ Raleigh.

¹⁰ Her.

by a cornfield—they turned about and drove rapidly back to Crotcher's Ferry where they had started in the morn[ing] and now a new difficulty presented itself—The husband of the servant at the place where our friends were staying belonged to Gov. Hick[erly's] brother and was a weekly visitor to this house[.] it was feared he might mention to his master the fact of strangers being in the neighborhood and then arouse his suspicion and lead to the arrest of the merchants . . . it was therefore deemed most prudent to move quarters which was done in the afternoon—the driver and escort returning to Seaford[.]

Another farm house having been selected our friends walked to their new place of retreat[.] while on their way thither an incident occurred which inspired them with feelings of almost certainty as to the success of their "On to Richmond" movement. They were going along the main road leading to Vienna, enjoying the quiet of a summer's evening—when a solitary rider was seen coming towards them—his appearance indicated that he was a well-to-do farmer, and well advanced in life; something suggested to them that this was the man of all others they most wished to meet. And he too seemed to have had an impression that the persons he was approaching were just the ones he was in search of.

When in speaking distance he halted and as our friends inquired of him was [he] not Mr. R—he replied—by simply informing them that they must be at his house "tomorrow evening"[.] his keen perception had lead [sic] him to a quick and correct conclusion; he seemed to know at a glance that these travellers were passing over [the] "underground route" and needed his assistance.

It was most prudent to anticipate his orders in view of the risk this colored man's movements might subject them to, accordingly Sunday night about 8 oc P. M. in a close covered wagon our friends having been joined by several others who were on the same mission; passed through Vienna, and beyond several miles to Noah Raleigh's house situated immediately on the north bank of the Nanticoke River—they were not driven to the house but several hundred yards below where a "dug out" was in waiting to convey them across to Somerset Co.; the tide being very low it was some time before the canoe could be gotten off shore into deep water, this delay caused considerable anxiety for the slightest noise might have caused the servants at the house to enquire into [the] meaning of it and lead to the arrest of the entire party. Mr. Raleigh included. Having been safely paddled across the River they were landed in a thicket of briars—and were compelled to tramp over sandy ground, through woods, and swamps to a farm house, not far from Quantico[.] here food was furnished and sufficient rest, to enable them to proceed onward to the marshes below, where a place of perfect security could be found, the party consisting of fourteen had assembled, and everything made ready for a sail across "The Bay."

A Dry Spot was found, in a potatoe [sic] Bin—a place used to store Sweet Potatoes during the winter—here our friends could avoid the searching eye of Provost Guards and the scorching rays of a summer's sun, but the mosquitoes had indisputed sway—These Potatoes Bins or Holes—

are like "Bomb Proofs" built during the war by soldiers, as protection against cannon Balls, and shells from Mortar Guns—they are dug under the ground like vaults, deep enough to enable persons to stand erect, at the same time having sufficient thickness of covering to prevent being broken in by heavy weights.

Fortunately the stay here was not long, or the mosquitoes would not have left blood enough in our friends to have made them of any use as soldiers[;] these mosquitoes are voracious feeders. The Party had assembled—about sundown to share the dangers of a trip across the Chesapeake[.] it was composed of our friends; two stout Irishmen from Dor. Co., and two young farmers from the same Co. all of whom bore an active part in the war as members of the "Second Maryland Battalion of Infantry C. S. A." one of the farmers having been killed during the Battle of "Pegram's Farm" on the Weldon R. R., Also of a citizen from Washington City who figures as a hero, in his own Estimation; but who proved to be a miserable coward; and finally of six citizens of Delaware, whom our friends lost sight of after reaching Richmond; all under command of a brave little Captain named Turpin. The Boat which was to convey this party across to the Va. Shore was a canoe about thirty three feet long, such as can now be seen on the tributaries of the Chesapeake—in use by that class of oysterman known as tongermen. Capt. Turpin owned the boat and was regularly engaged in the "Blockade" business[,], running passengers and contraband goods; though a very hazardous business, it was very profitable—twenty dollars in gold being the fare each passenger had to pay added to which was whatever profit could be made out of the freight.

The sun was just setting when Captain called his passengers on board and made ready for the cruise—pushing off from shore the boat was rowed along until broader waters were reached and night had thrown a mantle over it so that sails could be used without being seen from land. The route selected was out into the Nanticoke into Tangier Sound thence out into the Chesapeake by way of Smith's Island and across the Bay in a S. W. course for Little River on the Va. Shore. A point immediately opposite Point Lookout on the mouth of the Potomac River.

Tangier Sound is a broad, shallow expanse of water laying [sic] between the western border of Somerset Co. and several small Islands which skirt along the Eastern side of the Chesapeake[.] as the Sound was entered, a dark cloud hove up in the west causing Egyptian darkness which was soon followed by a Thunderstorm and the boat which had been sailing along so smoothly was brought to a sudden halt aground upon the flats miles from either shore.

All hands had to leave the boat and assist in getting her off, for the Virginia Shore had to be reached before daylight. Although the water was shallow, the mud was deep and the passengers found themselves nearly waist [deep] in water before the boat could be depended on—this however was but a foretaste of the trouble in store for them. After some delay—and much labor and patience the boat was sliding smoothly and rapidly across the broad waters of the Chesapeake about twenty miles

wide at this point. The passengers occupied the interval after getting out of the Sound with learning somewhat of the lives of each other and the time passed pleasantly without incident to mar its pleasure; until a light [was] seen in the distance which seemed to be bearing down upon them [and] caused some anxiety, all agreeing that it proceeded from a Government Gun Boat on the lookout for Blockade Runners[.] as the race would be between steam and sail, the danger seemed great and all felt it keenly—fully expecting to be captured or drowned. The Washingtonian seemed more alarmed than the rest for to use his own language "I am too well known in Washington and have recently left there to avoid arrest, if caught I would meet a traitor's death Captain! oh Captain! for God's sake don't let them capture us. Any where Captain; up the Bay, down the Bay, only don't let them capture me." This supposed danger proceeded from a Norfolk steamer plying her regular route between Baltimore and Norfolk. Once more this party was permitted to sail on smoothly and undisturbed, but the trip was not destined to be free from excitement and danger.

The Virginia Shore was approached just as day was breaking and the shades of receding night might make objects ahead appear dim and indistinct, while those behind stood out clear and against the horizon[.] The boat was steering for Little River; one of the many streams which course inland from the Chesapeake Bay and Potomac River. A dark object was observed ahead, a little to the right just emerging from the cover of the Va Shore. Slowly but surely it was making towards Capt Turpin while he trimmed his sails and handled his rudder with so much skill that with the aid of a friendly breeze his little boat, with its human cargo, was rapidly sailing for land—the sound of Muffled oars and hushed voices told of danger and that this would be a race for freedom. Capt T. understood thoroughly the situation; knew the qualities of his boat the navigation of the surrounding water and that land would soon be reached; he advised the men to screen themselves as best they could which could only be done by lying down in the bottom of the boat spoon fashion[—] a very cramped position.

Soon was heard the call so familiar to all sailors "Boat ahoy" "Heave to" coming from the officer in charge of the Gov't Barge manned by oarsmen and armed marines armed with a small howitzer. Again and again this call was made but Captain Turpin feigned deafness in order to gain time. When his boat was crossing the bow of the enemy's boat about one hundred yards from it came the preremptory order "Heave too or we'll fire" [.] This was replied to by one of the men "Fire and be d-m-d to you" and fire they did. The sharp report of the howitzer followed by the whizzing of the leaden missiles which it sent forth told that while the canoe could sail rapidly out of reach—its passengers would be battling with the bold waters of the Chesapeake as well as an armed enemy. The damage from the first shot was very slight only a hole cut in the sail. The race now became intensely exciting the canoe having the advantage of wind—while the Barge had to rely upon oars—the position of the two canoe and barge had now changed. Those on the former canoe could plainly see the Barge stand out distinct against the Eastern Sky while those

on the canoe were scarcely visible from the Barge. Capt. Turpin had succeeded in gaining considerable distance on the Barge before the second shot could be fired—a solid shot which fell sufficiently near the canoe to splash water on the men. Before a third shot could be made the canoe had reached the River and turning a point of land was soon out of sight and range of the Enemy's fire—So that this last messenger of death went over and beyond harmless—and our little band was once more safe—Some of the men as the canoe rounded the point preferred to trust to their own strength and jumped overboard—reaching land as best they could. Among this number was our Washington friend. He must not be slighted in such an account of the encounter with real danger for here his true character was developed whereas before when only supposed danger presented itself, he begged that the Captain would make his escape—so that he might not be captured and shot—now that there really was danger present he begged Capt. Turpin to surrender. "Surrender Captain or we'll all be killed" forgetting in his great fright that a "traitor's grave" awaited him.

The men having abandoned the canoe scattered in different directions some to find protection as they thought in a cornfield near by[.] among this number was the writer of this sketch.

As day broke more fully so that objects could be seen some distance off, A Gun Boat which was stationed at this point and sent out on picket duty was discovered not two hundred yards from this place of retreat sufficiently near to make it dangerous to remain[.] accordingly it was soon decided to move further inland—following what seemed to be a public road the party was brought out to a sudden halt by the cry of "There they are now, the Yankees" [The] Washingtonian saw danger on every hand. This time what he supposed to be the enemy—some dark objects which seemed to be advancing toward him[—]proved to be an old black Sow with a litter of half grown pigs.

If some of the men had met these dangerous porkers a few years later in the War—they would have been quickly slaughtered for daring to put themselves in a soldier's way—And now the Washington hero (?) disappears from this scene—what became of him the writer never learned—but it is quite certain that he never added any strength to the Southern cause.

The young friends and cousins—who were introduced to our readers at the outset[—]having been separated the entire day met at a farm house where food was furnished, then scouting parties had scoured the country around for stragglers and [...] ¹¹ position of the Yankees. The entire number of passengers assembled here where preparations were made to proceed as far as Heathsville on the way to Richmond.

Heathsville, the county seat of Westmoreland Co. is an old English settlement showing evidence of its age in the . . . weather beaten buildings scattered here and there. The Citizens were full of such hospitality as a war ridden people possessed, for although they had not been visited by

¹¹ Several words undecipherable.

the ravages of contending armies nor witnessed the terrible carnage and destruction which nearly every other portion of the state became familiar with the effects of war, were visible in scarcity of young able bodied men, only old men and cripples, women and children were to be seen—Our tired travellers were refreshed by a beverage quite famous in this country but new to them, "Peach and Honey" made from home distilled Peach Brandy and Honey.

A night was spent here and in the morning arrangements made for the "On to Richmond" move, wagons and teams were secured and guides who knew the route for danger still hovered around this party and not until they were within Confederate lines where they were entirely free from danger of capture. The Union Gun Boats controlled most of the rivers and were constantly plying up and down the York and Rappahonick [sic] Rivers which had to be crossed by this party. As the Party were about starting the Sheriff of that County requested that they would take as Prisoners of War, to Richmond two Yankees who had been captured by some citizens—a short time previously. It seems that while our travellers were pushing their way inland, Men in charge of Govt. Barge after capturing Capt. Turpin['s] boat carried it to Point Lookout and two soldiers had taken it out into the Potomac to catch some oysters—a stiff wind springing up they were unable to manage the boat and drifted onto the Virginia Shore where they were captured and brought to Heathsville—The Canoe was returned to Captain Turpin minus its contents and doubtless he made many more Blockade Trips in her. The presence of the Prisoners added very much in the onward movements the citizens being rejoiced to see their invaders—rendered harmless.

The route selected was via C H crossing the Rappahannock at — The York at — The Pomunkey at — and the Chickahominy at —¹² It required ten days and nights to make the entire trip from Centreville, Md. to Richmond, Va. On the evening of Sept — our young friends entered Richmond having passed over a portion of the Battle fields made memorable in the contest between McClellan for the possession and R. E. Lee, for the defense of Richmond—after delivering the Prisoners to the Provost Marshall of Richmond, they repaired to the Spotswood Hotel for rest until the morn[ing] when they enlisted under the Banner of the Red and White in the rank[s] of the 2nd Md. Batt Infantry C. S. A. Co H Capt Wm. A. Murray commanding.

¹² The localities were left unnamed by the writer.



MAIN GALLERY, MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PORTRAITS PAINTED BEFORE 1900 IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MARY- LAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

The Maryland Historical Society's collection of likenesses assembled by gift, purchase and deposit, since its incorporation in 1844, numbers well over five hundred; the media range from portraits in oil and in miniature through water colors, drawing and silhouettes—exclusive of extensive files of engravings, daguerreotypes and photographs.

This handlist of those portraits in the large in oil painted before the year 1900 follows publication of a list of the miniatures in the collection. These are the first such compilations. The subjects in these several lists include personages of major or minor interest to Maryland—from King James I, Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria, the early Darnalls, Attorney General Thomas Bordley, Governor Thomas Johnson, and members of the Carroll family—through Revolutionary leaders and prominent figures of the early and mid-nineteenth century—to the late Governor Albert C. Ritchie. With the exception of certain popular items borrowed again and again by other institutions for loan exhibits, and therefore recorded in catalogues, the group as a whole has not been brought to public attention. The scope of it, either from the point of view of artists, or as a "Maryland Portrait Gallery" has not been generally recognized. To rectify past neglect and to make the material available to students working on monographs of individual artists, or on biographical studies of personages of note, these lists have been prepared.

As work on American painters and paintings continues, it is anticipated that some attributions may have to be altered and that further clarification of the productions of artists working in Maryland, and of the work of artists patronized by Marylanders

when away from home, will result. However, before a *catalogue raisonné* is attempted and previous to the moment when funds and time are available for thorough laboratory examination, which might disclose additional signatures, many of the following attributions are but tentative.

For the foundation of the work on portraits in the Society's collection I am greatly indebted to Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, Vice-President of the Society, whose studies, particularly of the eighteenth century portraits, have been of inestimable value.

When not otherwise noted all paintings are on rectangular canvasses and the measurements given in inches are those of the stretcher. A list of artists represented and works attributed to them follows the list of subjects.

1. FELIX AGNUS (1839-1925)

Owner and editor of the *Baltimore American and Star*. Distinguished Union officer in the Civil War.

By André Castaigne. Signed: A. CASTAIGNE [and] BALTO-1890.
52 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 38.

Bequest of Mrs. P. B. Key Daingerfield. 43.40.9

2. FELIX AGNUS (1839-1925)

See above.

By Paul Hallwig. Signed: *Paul Hallwig / 1892*. 30 x 25

Bequest of Mrs. P. B. Key Daingerfield. 43.40.10

3. MRS. THOMAS STOCKETT ALEXANDER (Priscilla Ghiselin) (1809-1856)

By George Linen. *Inscription on frame: Painted by / Geo. Linen / October 1856*. 7 x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$.

The Henry J. Berkley Collection. 34.12.2

4. GEORGE WANSEY ANDREWS (c. 1801-1877)

Chemist and apothecary of the firm of Andrews and Thompson, of Baltimore.

Unattributed American. 36 x 28.

Bequest of Mrs. Mary Cornelia Beasley. 22.14.1

5. GEORGE ARMISTEAD (1780-1818)

Distinguished soldier of the War of 1812; promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel for the successful defense of Fort McHenry, September 13-14, 1814.

By Rembrandt Peale. 23 x 19.

Deposited by the Peabody Institute. 36.16.1

6. WILLIAM BAKER (1752-1815)
 Baltimore merchant.
 By Philip Tilyard. 36 x 27 $\frac{7}{8}$. Oil on panel.
 Gift of Miss Sophia Anna Graves. 42.3.1
7. MRS. WILLIAM BAKER (Anna Burneston) (1757-1841)
 By Philip Tilyard. 36 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 28 $\frac{1}{8}$. Oil on panel.
 Gift of Miss Sophia Anna Graves. 42.3.2
8. DAVID BARNUM (1770-1844)
 Proprietor of the City Hotel, familiarly known as "Barnum's Hotel," for over fifty years headquarters for distinguished visitors to Baltimore and the scene of notable public banquets.
 Unattributed American. 30 x 25. Oval.
 Gift of Miss Annie Barnum. 1889.3.1
9. CHARLES CARROLL BOMBAUGH, M. D. (1828-1906)
 Physician and author; editor the *Baltimore Underwriter*; Vice-President of The American Academy of Medicine.
 By Louis Dieterich. Signed: *L. Dieterich* / 1895. 30 x 25.
 Gift of Augustus Springett. 35.13.1
10. MADAME JEROME BONAPARTE (Elizabeth Patterson) (1785-1879)
 Daughter of William Patterson of Baltimore. Married in the Baltimore Cathedral, 1803, to the youngest brother of Napoleon. When the couple arrived in Europe, the Emperor refused to let Mme. Bonaparte land and later annulled the marriage.
 By François Joseph Kinson. Inscription on back: *Madame Jérôme Bonaparte / née Patterson / Peint a Paris année 1817 / par Kinson.*
 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{4}$.
 The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.72
11. MADAME JEROME BONAPARTE (Elizabeth Patterson) (1785-1879)
 See above.
 By Firmin Massot. Inscriptions on back: "*Mde. Jerome Bonaparte / NÉE E. Patterson.*"; "*Peint Par MASSOT à GENÈVE. 1823*"; "*Portrait de Mde. Jérôme Bonaparte / née Elizabeth Patterson / fait à Genève année 1823.*"; "*E P*"; "*Portrait de Mde. Jérôme Bonaparte / née Patterson*"; "*Portrait de Mde. Elizabeth / Bonaparte / Patterson / année 1823 / fait a Genève / par Massot*"; "*Génève / 1823.*" 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$. Oil on panel.
 The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.69
12. JEROME NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1830-1893)
 Son of Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, grandson of Jerome Bonaparte and Betsy Patterson. Graduated from the United States Military Academy, 1852; served in the United States Army and in the Army

of the Second Empire. By Ernst Fischer. Signed *E. Fischer / Baltimore 1850*. 27 x 22.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.73

13. THOMAS BORDLEY (1682-1726)

Distinguished lawyer; burgess from Annapolis, 1708-12, 1716-20; burgess for Anne Arundel County 1716, 1722-26; attorney-general of Maryland, 1715, 1716, 1719; member of the Governor's Council, 1720-21; clerk of the Provincial Court; commissary general of Maryland, 1718-1720.

By Gustavus Hesselius. 27 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 22 $\frac{5}{8}$.

Bequest of Frank M. Etting. 1891.2.1

14. ANN LUX BOWLY (Mrs. Henry Thompson) (1776-1847)

Of Baltimore.

By Robert Edge Pine. 22 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 18 $\frac{7}{8}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 36.4.3

15. DANIEL BOWLY (1745-1807)

Of "Furley Hall," Baltimore County; ensign in Sterett's Company, Baltimore Militia, during the Revolution; member of the Committee of Observation, 1775; commissioner of Baltimore Town, 1771-1798; warden of the Port of Baltimore; State senator, 1786, 1789, 1791.

By Charles Willson Peale. 16 x 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{16}$. It is probable that the canvas has been cut down.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.5

DANIEL BOWLY

See DAVID HARRIS and DANIEL BOWLY

16. CHARLES BRADENBAUGH (1820-1862)

One of the original trustees of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore; president of the Mercantile Library Association.

By Charles Loring Elliott. Signed: *C L Elliott / 1858*. 50 x 40.

Deposited by the Peabody Institute. 24.24.6

17. GEORGE BROWN (1787-1859)

Second head of the banking house of Alexander Brown and Sons, Baltimore; treasurer of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad; one of the original trustees of the Peabody Institute; president of the Mechanics Bank.

By John Robertson. Signed: *J. Robertson*. 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 16.

Gift of Washington Perine. 43.41.2

18. MRS. ANDREW BUCHANAN (Susan Lawson) (1743-1798)

Of Baltimore.

Unattributed American; probably painted in Baltimore. 27 x 22 $\frac{1}{4}$.

The Redwood Collection. XX.4.222

19. GEORGE W. BUCKLER (died 1866)
Unattributed American. 30 x 25.
Provenance not established.

20. CHARLES CALVERT, FIFTH LORD BALTIMORE (1699-1751)
Lord Proprietary of Maryland, which he visited in 1732 in connection with the boundary dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania; Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Frederick, Prince of Wales; Warden of the Stannaries and Cofferer, 1736; Member of Parliament for Surrey, 1741-1747; Lord of the Admiralty, 1741; a Fellow of the Royal Society.
By Thomas Sully after an English portrait. 93½ x 54¼.
Gift of Thomas Sully. 1856.1.1

21. SAMUEL CARNE, M. D. (died c. 1770)
Of Charleston, South Carolina; an early exponent of inoculation for smallpox.
By Jeremiah Theus. 30 x 25. Oval.
Deposited by the late Mrs. Florence Read Beaton. 04.2.7

22. MRS. SAMUEL CARNE (Catherine Bond) (d. 1806)
By Jeremiah Theus. 30 x 25. Oval.
Deposited by the late Mrs. Florence Read Beaton. 04.2.8

23. CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON (1737-1832)
Statesman, planter, last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence; delegate to the Maryland Revolutionary Convention, 1775; member of the Continental Congress, 1776 and 1778; Commissioner to Canada, 1776; United States Senator from Maryland, 1789-1792.
By Michael Laty after Robert Field. Signed: *M. Laty, pinx*
30½ x 24¾.
Gift of Mrs. Richard Caton. 1846.2.1

24. DANIEL CARROLL (1730-1796)
Of Upper Marlboro and Rock Creek, Prince George's County, Maryland; one of the commissioners appointed under the Act to lay out the City of Washington.
By John Wollaston. 50 x 40¼.
Gift of Dr. Clapham Pennington. 25.1.1

25. MRS. DANIEL CARROLL (Eleanor Carroll) (1731-1763) and DANIEL CARROLL II (b. 1752)
By John Wollaston. 50 x 41½.
Gift of Dr. Clapham Pennington. 25.1.2

26. MISS CHASE (born c. 1715)
 Daughter of the Reverend Richard Chase, 1692-1742.
 Unattributed American. 50 x 40.
 Bequest of Mrs. Mary Chase Merrill. 28.12.2

27. JEREMIAH CHASE (c. 1718-1755) and RICHARD CHASE (c. 1718-1757)
 Sons of the Reverend Richard Chase, 1692-1742, of England and Maryland; chaplain to the Lord Proprietary.
 Unattributed American. $45\frac{3}{4} \times 36\frac{1}{2}$.
 Bequest of Mrs. Mary Chase Merrill. 28.12.1

28. SAMUEL CHASE (1741-1811)
 Jurist of Annapolis and Baltimore; delegate to the Continental Congress, 1774-1778, 1784-1785; Signer of the Declaration of Independence; Judge of the Baltimore County Court, 1778; Chief Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals, 1788; Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1796-1811. An ardent Federalist, he was a violent opponent of Jefferson, who in 1804 attempted to have him impeached.
 By Charles Willson Peale. 50 x $36\frac{1}{4}$.
 Bequest of Mrs. Samuel Ridout and Mrs. William Laird.
 1892.2.1

29. MRS. SAMUEL CHASE (Anne Baldwin) and her daughters, ANNE CHASE (1771-1852) and MATILDA CHASE (Mrs. Henry Ridgely) (1763-1835)
 By Charles Willson Peale. $49\frac{7}{8} \times 36\frac{5}{8}$.
 Bequest of Mrs. Samuel Ridout and Mrs. William Laird.
 1892.2.2

30. ANNA LAETITIA COALE (Mrs. John C. Brune) (1817-1856)
 Of Baltimore.
 By Alfred J. Miller. $17\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{5}{8}$. Oval.
 The Redwood Collection. XX.4.218

31. ANNA MARIA COALE (1779-1813)
 Of Baltimore.
 By James House. $4\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$. Oil on panel.
 The Redwood Collection. XX.4.228

32. EDWARD JOHNSON COALE (1776-1832)
 Lawyer, publisher and bookseller of Baltimore and Washington.
 By Sarah M. Peale. 30 x 25.
 The Redwood Collection. XX.4.217

33. MRS. EDWARD JOHNSON COALE (Mary Anne Buchanan) (1792-1866)
By William James Hubbard. 7 x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$. Oil on panel.
The Redwood Collection. XX.4.226
34. MRS. EDWARD JOHNSON COALE (Mary Anne Buchanan) (1792-1866)
By Thomas Waterman Wood. Signed: *T. W. Wood*. 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 7.
Oval. Oil on paper.
The Redwood Collection. XX.4.229
35. MARY ABIGAIL WILLING COALE (Mrs. William Tower Proud) (1789-1831)
Of Baltimore.
By Alfred J. Miller after Thomas Sully. 29 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 24. Oil on panel.
The Redwood Collection. XX.4.219
36. BENJAMIN I. COHEN (1797-1845)
Captain of the Marion Corps, Maryland Militia, 1823; one of the founders of the Baltimore Stock Exchange, 1837.
By James L. Wattles. Stencil on back: *PAINTED/ by/ J. WATTLES/ BALT.* 30 x 25.
The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 38.7.78
37. BENJAMIN I. COHEN (1797-1845)
See above.
By Joseph Wood. Inscription on backing: *Wood fecit.* 9 x 6 $\frac{11}{16}$.
Oil on paper.
The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 18.6.13
38. BENJAMIN I. COHEN, JR. (1852-1910)
Baltimore lawyer who, in 1879, moved to Portland, Oregon, where he founded the Portland Trust Company of which he was president.
By Thomas Waterman Wood, 1856. Signed; *T. W. Wood*. 10 x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$. Oval. Oil on paper.
The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 38.7.79
39. GEORGIE COHEN (1856-1871)
By L. G. Florance. Signed: *L. G. Florance/ 1862.* 20 x 16.
The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 38.7.77
40. MRS. ROSWELL LYMAN COLT (Margaret Oliver) (1790-1856)
Of Baltimore and New York.
By William James Hubbard. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$. Oil on panel.
The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.4
41. HENRY DAINGERFIELD (1800-1866)
Of Alexandria, Virginia.
Unattributed American. 30 x 25.
Bequest of Mrs. P. B. Key Daingerfield. 43.40.14

42. MASTER DARNALL (*circa* 1720)
 Unattributed American. 61 x 41 $\frac{3}{4}$.
 Bequest of Miss Ellen C. Daingerfield. 12.1.6
43. ELEANOR DARNALL (Mrs. Daniel Carroll) (1704-1796)
 Of "The Woodyard," Prince George's County, Maryland.
 By Justus Engelhardt Kühn. 53 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 44.
 Bequest of Miss Ellen C. Daingerfield. 12.1.5
44. HENRY DARNALL I (1645-1711)
 Of "The Woodyard," Prince George's County, Maryland; one of the largest land owners in Maryland; member of the Governor's Council, 1679-1689; one of the deputy governors, 1684-1689; colonel of militia; justice and high sheriff of Calvert County.
 An altered copy after Justus Engelhardt Kühn or possibly a modified replica. 36 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 30.
 Bequest of Miss Ellen C. Daingerfield. 12.1.1
45. MRS. HENRY DARNALL I (Eleanor Hatton Brooke) (1642-1724)
 See note on above. 37 x 30.
 Bequest of Miss Ellen C. Daingerfield. 12.1.2
46. MRS. HENRY DARNALL II (Anne Digges) (1685-living 1750)
 Of "The Woodyard," Prince George's County, Maryland.
 By Justus Engelhardt Kühn. 37 x 30.
 Bequest of Miss Ellen C. Daingerfield. 12.1.7
47. HENRY DARNALL III (b. 1702-living 1788)
 Of "The Woodyard," Prince George's County, Maryland; collector of customs for the Potomac; attorney-general of the Province, 1751-1756; receiver of revenues for Lord Baltimore. He spent his latter years abroad.
 By Justus Engelhardt Kühn. 53 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 44.
 Bequest of Miss Ellen C. Daingerfield. 12.1.3
48. MRS. HENRY DARNALL III (Ann Talbot)
 By Gustavus Hesselius. 29 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 25.
 Bequest of Miss Ellen C. Daingerfield. 12.1.4
49. STEPHEN DECATUR (1779-1820)
 Promoted to Captain, U. S. N., in 1804 for his bravery in burning the captured *Philadelphia* in the harbor of Tripoli; captured the British frigate *Macedonia*, 1812; Commodore, 1813; in 1816 he commanded the fleet sent against Algiers and compelled the Bey to sue for peace. He was killed in a duel with Captain Barron.
 By Rembrandt Peale. 23 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 19 $\frac{1}{8}$.
 Purchase. 1857.2.6

50. ARCHIBALD DOBBIN (1764-1830)
Inspector of Customs, Baltimore.
Unattributed, probably European. 22 x 18 $\frac{1}{4}$.
The J. Wilson Leakin Collection. 23.17.25
51. WILLIAM HAMMOND DORSEY (1764-1818)
Of Montgomery County, Maryland, and Georgetown, D. C.
Attributed to George William West. 12 x 9.
The Redwood Collection. XX.4.225
52. SAMUEL ETTING (1796-1862)
Prominent Baltimore merchant; served in the Baltimore Fencibles at Fort McHenry, 1814.
Attributed to Joseph Wood. 12 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{3}{4}$. Oil on silk.
The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 18.6.39
53. SOLOMON ETTING (1764-1847)
Prominent merchant of York, Pennsylvania, and Baltimore who had an interest in Robert Fulton's plans for construction of steam vessels of war. He was one of the first Jews to hold office in Maryland; President of the first branch, Baltimore City Council; an incorporator of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.
By John Wesley Jarvis. 34 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 26 $\frac{1}{8}$. Oil on panel.
The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 20.35.1
54. MRS. SOLOMON ETTING (Rachel Gratz) (1764-1831)
By John Wesley Jarvis. 34 x 26 $\frac{1}{4}$. Oil on panel.
The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 20.35.2
55. THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE (Eugénie de Montijo, Contesse de Teba) (1826-1920)
Consort of Napoleon III.
Unattributed European. Inscribed on back: *Depuis Colsz*. 29 x 23 $\frac{1}{2}$.
Oval.
The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.71
56. HUGH DAVEY EVANS (1792-1868)
Lawyer; writer on religious subjects; one of the founders of the Library Company of Baltimore.
By Isaac Eugene Craig, 1871. 84 x 48 (sight).
Provenance not established.
57. MRS. WILLIAM EVANS (Margaret Randall) (1782-1872)
Of Baltimore and Rochester, New York.
By Thomas LeClear. 30 x 25.
Gift of Mrs. Virginia Evans Devereux. 38.14.1

58. CONRAD R. FITE (1797-1879)
 Officer of the Farmers and Merchants Bank; of the firm Tiffany, Fite and Company, and Fite, Grinnell and Company.
 By Sarah M. Peale. 30 x 24 $\frac{7}{8}$.
 Gift of Miss Mary E. Waters. 27.20.1
59. MRS. CONRAD R. FITE (Pamelia Gist) (1801-1885)
 By Sarah M. Peale. 30 x 24 $\frac{7}{8}$.
 Gift of Miss Mary E. Waters. 27.20.2
60. SARAH FITZHUGH (Mrs. Theodorick Bland) (1746-1793)
 Of "Bedford," King George County, Virginia.
 By John Hesselius. Inscription pasted on stretcher: *Miss Sarah Fitzhugh Daughter of / . . . Fitzhugh / AEtat 19 Years. 1767./ J. Hesselius Pinx./ Lined and restored by Charles Volkmar Baltimore. 1856.* 50 x 40.
 Gift of Thomas H. G. and Lawrence M. Bailliere. 46.1.1
61. DANIEL JAMES FOLEY (1819-1905)
 Of the firm of D. J. Foley & Co.; became a member of the Hibernian Society of Baltimore in 1840, its treasurer in 1843 and its president 1864-1871.
 By Thomas C. Corner. Signed: *Thos. C. Corner/ 1894.* 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ (sight).
 Gift of The Hibernian Society. 44.23.3
62. HORATIO GATES (1728-1806)
 Major in the British Army during the French and Indian War. In 1772 he settled at "Travellers Rest," Berkeley County, Virginia. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was given the rank of brigadier-general and in May 1776 promoted to major-general. By Act of Congress, Nov. 4, 1777, he received the thanks of the nation and a gold medal for his parts in the Battles of Bennington and Fort Schuyler. He commanded the Army in the South, but was superseded by Greene after Cornwallis defeated him at Camden. Attributed by donor to John Trumbull. Recent study suggests, on stylistic grounds, that it may be by James Peale. 36 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 27 $\frac{1}{8}$.
 Gift of Mrs. William S. G. Baker. 1890.2.1
63. SAMUEL KNOX GEORGE (1810-1871)
 By John Dabour. Signed: *J. Dabour/ 1869.* 30 x 25.
 Provenance not established.
64. REVERDY GHISELIN, M. D. (d. 1822)
 Physician of Prince George's County, Maryland.
 Unattributed American. 30 x 25.
 The Henry J. Berkley Collection. 34.12.1



No. 43. ELEANOR DARNALL

By Justus Engelhardt Kühn



No. 48. MRS. HENRY DARNALL, III

By Gustavus Hesselius

65. ROBERT MORGAN GIBBES (1796-1864)
Of Charleston, Baltimore and New York; his Newport villa was "Buenavista."
By William James Hubard. 7 x 6. Oil on panel.
The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.2
66. WILLIAM FELL GILES (1807-1879)
Admitted to the Baltimore bar 1829; member of the Legislature 1837-40; judge of the U. S. District Court of Maryland 1853; for 30 years an officer of the Maryland State Colonization Society.
By Henry G. McCann. 36 x 29.
Gift of Mrs. Alfred Baker Giles. 14.4.1
67. GEORGE M. GILL (1803-1887)
Admitted to Baltimore bar, 1823; member of the Constitutional Convention, 1867.
By Solomon N. Carvalho. Signed: *S. N. Carvalho/ 1859.* 30 x 25.
Provenance not established.
68. MRS. ROBERT GILMOR, III (Ellen Ward) (1811-1880)
Of Baltimore and "Glen Ellen," Baltimore County, Maryland.
By William E. West. 30 x 25.
Deposited by Mrs. Thomas G. Buchanan. 38.11.1
69. MORDECAI GIST (1743-1792)
Of Maryland and South Carolina. Captain of Baltimore Independent Company, 1774; 2nd major 1st Maryland Battalion, 1776; colonel, 1776; brigadier general, 1779. His bravery at the Battle of Camden was commended by Congress, 1780. During the latter part of the war he was given the task of recruiting and supplying the army for the Southern District.
By James K. Harley, altered copy after Charles Willson Peale. Inscription on back: *Portrait of Genl. M. Gist of the/ "Maryland line"—from A Picture/ in the possession of Dr. Cockey/ Original by C. W. Peale-/ J. K. Harley Pinxt.* 29 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 24 $\frac{3}{4}$.
Gift of Dr. J. Paul Cockey and John S. Smith. 1853.3.1
70. MORDECAI GIST (1743-1792)
See above.
By Luther Terry, altered copy after Charles Willson Peale. Inscribed: *Copied from the original by Chs Wilson Peale, for Dr. J. Paul Cockey./ L. Terry Pinxt/ 1837 Genl. Mordecai Gist.* 30 x 25.
Gift of W. S. G. Baker. 04.1.1
71. MAXIMILIAN GODEFROY (living 1848)
Native of France, active in America as teacher, architect and

engineer; instructor in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, c. 1805-1819. He designed St. Mary's Seminary Chapel, Battle Monument, Unitarian Church, the Baltimore Exchange (with Latrobe), Masonic Hall, and the Commercial and Farmers Bank.

By Rembrandt Peale. $23\frac{1}{8} \times 19\frac{1}{8}$.

Deposited by the Peabody Institute. 36.16.2

72. DR. EDWARD YERBURY GOLDSBOROUGH (1797-1850)

Physician and planter of "Richfields," Frederick County, Maryland.

Unattributed American. $30 \times 24\frac{3}{4}$.

Gift of Mrs. Richard M. Duvall. 42.8.1

73. MRS. EDWARD YERBURY GOLDSBOROUGH (Margaret Schley) (1802-1876)

Unattributed American. $29\frac{7}{8} \times 24\frac{7}{8}$.

Gift of Mrs. Richard M. Duvall. 42.8.2

74. ARTHUR PUE GORMAN (1839-1906)

Member of the Maryland House of Delegates, 1870-1880; United States Senate, 1880-1899 and 1903-1906; Democratic leader and manager of Cleveland's campaigns; president Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.

By Louis Dieterich. Signed: *L. Dieterich/ 1894*. 30×25 .

Gift of Mrs. Ada Gorman Magness. 34.8.1

75. ELIZABETH GOULD (Mrs. John Baker Brimmer) (1751-1793)

Of Boston, Massachusetts.

By Joseph Badger. $41\frac{3}{4} \times 32\frac{7}{8}$.

The Eaton Collection. 30.21.173

76. HANNAH GOULD (Mrs. John Middleton Lovell) (1760-1792)

Of Boston, Massachusetts.

By Joseph Badger. $33\frac{1}{2} \times 42\frac{1}{2}$.

The Eaton Collection. 30.21.174

77. SARAH GOULD (1753-1786)

Of Boston, Massachusetts.

By Joseph Badger. $41\frac{3}{4} \times 32\frac{3}{4}$.

The Eaton Collection. 30.21.172

78. EDWARD GRAY (1776-1856)

Merchant of Philadelphia and Baltimore; proprietor of cotton mills at Ellicott City, Maryland.

By Chester Harding. 30×25 .

Gift of Miss Coale. 1890.1.1

79. GREEK GIRL

Attributed to Minor B. Kellogg. 24×20 .

Deposited by Mrs. M. W. Preston. 1886.2.1

80. NATHANAEL GREENE (1742-1786)

Of Rhode Island and Georgia. Brigadier-General Continental Line, 1775; brevetted major-general, August 1776; quartermaster-general, 1778; commander-in-chief, Southern Department, 1780; Congress in October, 1781, voted him a stand of British flags and a gold medal for his victory at Eutaw Springs, and in January, 1783, passed a vote of thanks for his success in the Southern Department. By Rembrandt Peale after Charles Willson Peale. $23\frac{1}{4} \times 19\frac{1}{4}$. Purchase. 1857.2.1

81. WILLIAM WALLACE TAYLOR GREENWAY (1817-1899)

Of Baltimore.

By Charles Wesley Jarvis. $34\frac{1}{4} \times 27\frac{1}{8}$.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.22

82. ISRAEL GRIFFITH (1799-1875)

Of the dry goods firm of I. and H. B. Griffith, of Baltimore.

Unattributed American. $29\frac{7}{8} \times 24\frac{7}{8}$.

Gift of Mrs. Charles T. Griffith. 44.44.1

83. THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL GRIFFITH

ISRAEL GRIFFITH, JR. (1835-1863)	FRANCES ANN GRIFFITH (1830-
SARAH ANN GRIFFITH (1835-1858)	1863)

(Mrs. Joseph Ruddach)	(m. 1. James C. Worthington)
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MARY ELEANOR GRIFFITH	(m. 2. William H. Hungerford)
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(b. 1828)	ALVERDA GRIFFITH (b. 1832)
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(Mrs. Walter Farnandis)	(Mrs. Romulus R. Griffith, Jr.)
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EMMA GRIFFITH (b. 1842)

(Mrs. Charles R. Coleman, Jr.)

By Oliver T. Eddy. 83×103 (sight).

Gift of John G. Buck in memory of Alverda Griffith Buck. 18.9.1

84. JANE REBECCA GRIFFITH (1816-1848)

Attributed to Oliver T. Eddy. $26\frac{1}{4} \times 33\frac{1}{8}$. Oil on panel.

Gift of Miss Jane G. Keys. 36.12.1

85. JANE REBECCA GRIFFITH (1816-1848)

Attributed by donor to Samuel L. Waldo; attributed by Dr. J. H. Pleasants to Oliver T. Eddy. 49×36 . Oil on panel.

Gift of Mrs. Charles T. Griffith. 44.44.2

86. WILLIAM HANDY GRIFFITH (1827-1880)

Of Baltimore.

Unattributed American. $29\frac{7}{8} \times 24\frac{7}{8}$.

Gift of Miss Flavilla W. Griffith. 44.63.1

87. ROBERT GOODLOE HARPER (1765-1825)
Of South Carolina and Maryland. Distinguished lawyer and statesman; member of Congress from South Carolina, 1785-1801; major-general, Maryland Militia, 1814; elected United States Senator, 1816; Federalist candidate for Vice-President, 1816; original member American Colonization Society.
By Harper Pennington after Robert Field. 30 x 24.
Gift of Miss Emily Harper. 1885.1.1
88. BENJAMIN GWINN HARRIS (1806-1895)
Of "Ellenborough," St. Mary's County; lawyer and planter; member of the Maryland House of Delegates and the United States Congress. In May, 1865, he was tried and convicted for harboring Confederate soldiers but was pardoned by President Johnson.
By George Cooke. Signed: G. C. 1839. $29\frac{7}{8}$ x $25\frac{1}{8}$.
Bequest of Mrs. Mattie M. Key. 42.10.7
89. MRS. BENJAMIN GWINN HARRIS (Martha Elizabeth Harris) (1813-1892)
By George Cooke. Signed: G. C./ 1839. $29\frac{7}{8}$ x 25.
Bequest of Mrs. Mattie M. Key. 42.10.8
90. DAVID HARRIS (d. 1809) and DANIEL BOWLY (1745-1807)
Harris of "Mt. Deposit" (later "Surrey"), Baltimore County, Maryland, was paymaster in Thompson's Pennsylvania Rifle Battalion and 3rd lieutenant, 1775; 1st lieutenant and captain 1st Continental Infantry, 1776; captain in the 1st Pennsylvania, 1777; cashier of the Office of Discount and Deposit, Baltimore.
For Bowly see above.
By Francis Guy. $7\frac{3}{4}$ x $6\frac{1}{2}$.
The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.6
91. JOSEPH HARRIS (1773-1855)
Of "Mt. Tirzah," Charles County, Maryland; clerk of court, St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1795-1843.
By George Cooke. 30 x 25.
Bequest of Mrs. Mattie M. Key. 42.10.6
92. LAURA JANE HARRIS (Mrs. James Blake) (1846-1892)
Unattributed American. $48\frac{1}{4}$ x 36.
Gift of Mrs. Mary W. Love. 44.17.1
93. HALL HARRISON (1774-1830)
Prominent merchant of Baltimore.
Unattributed American. $30\frac{1}{8}$ x 25.
The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 36.4.7

94. QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA (1609-1669)
Consort of Charles I of England who bestowed the name of Maryland in her honor.
From *Atelier* of Anthony Van Dyck. $47\frac{1}{2} \times 36$.
Gift of Miss Jane James Cook. 40.26.1
95. AUGUSTINE HERRMAN (d. 1686)
Of "Bohemia Manor," Cecil County, Maryland. A native of Prague in Bohemia, who, in 1633, as agent of a Dutch firm settled in New Amsterdam (New York) where he served as councillor; in 1659 he came to Maryland to represent the Dutch interests in regard to the settlements on the Delaware. For the map which he prepared for Lord Baltimore he received immense grants of land. Copy by William Clark, after an earlier portrait. Signed: *W Clark/ Fecit. A. D 1788*.
Deposited by Miss Mary Ella Massey. 25.30.1
96. MRS. AUGUSTINE HERRMAN (Jannetje Varlett)
Copy by William Clark, after an earlier portrait. Signed: *W. Clark./ Fecit./ A. D. 1788*. $20\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{7}{8}$.
Deposited by Miss Mary Ella Massey. 25.30.2
97. JACOB HINDMAN (1789-1827)
Of Talbot County and Baltimore; captain in 2nd U. S. Artillery, 1812; major, 1813; brevetted lieutenant-colonel for distinguished services at Fort Erie, 1814; colonel, 1815. In 1824, as commandant at Fort McHenry, he received General the Marquis de Lafayette. By John Wesley Jarvis. $29\frac{7}{8} \times 24\frac{7}{8}$.
The Noel-Wyatt Collection. XX.1.6
98. SARAH ESTHER HINDMAN (Mrs. Gilmor Meredith) (1827-1899)
Of Baltimore; painted in character of "Little-Red Riding Hood." By Thomas Sully. Signed: *TS. 1833*. $53\frac{1}{2} \times 37\frac{1}{2}$.
Deposited by the Peabody Institute. 24.24.5
99. MRS. ISAAC HITE (Eleanor Conway Madison) (1760-1802) and JAMES MADISON HITE (1793-1850)
Of "Belle Grove" and "Guilford," Clarke County, Virginia. By Charles Peale Polk. $59\frac{5}{8} \times 40\frac{5}{8}$.
Gift of Mrs. Drayton Meade Hite. 18.10.3
100. JOHN EAGER HOWARD (1752-1827)
Of "Belvedere," Baltimore; captain 2nd Maryland Battalion of the Flying Camp, July, 1776; major 4th Maryland, 1777; lieutenant-colonel, 5th Maryland, 1778; on March 9, 1781, Congress "Resolved, That a medal of silver be presented to Lieutenant-Colonel Howard of the Infantry, with emblems and mottoes descriptive of

his conduct at the battle of Cowpens, January 17th, 1781." He was delegate to the Continental Congress, 1787-1788; Governor of Maryland, 1789-1792; United States Senator, 1796-1803. By Michael Laty after Charles Willson Peale. Inscribed on back: *Col. John Eager Howard/ From Peales of 1787/ by/ M. Laty 1846.* 23½ x 19½.

Gift of James and Charles Howard. 1846.1.1

101. CHRISTOPHER HUGHES, JR. (1786-1849)

Of Baltimore. Secretary to the American Commissioners at Ghent, 1815. He brought the Treaty and news of peace with England to Congress. Secretary to the U. S. Legation in London, 1815; chargé d'affaires to Sweden and Norway, 1816-1825, to the Netherlands, 1825-1830, Sweden, 1830-1842, and again to the Netherlands 1842-1845, when he returned to the United States. He was a celebrated wit.

By Sir Martin Archer Shee, R. A. 30 x 24½.

Bequest of Christopher Hughes, Jr. 1850.1.1

102. JOHN JAY (1745-1829)

Member of the Committee of Correspondence of New York, 1776; member of the Provincial Congress, 1776, of the Continental Congress, 1774-1779, president of the latter, 1778-1779; minister to Spain, 1780; a member of the Commission which negotiated peace with Great Britain, 1783; Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1784-1790; Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1790-1795; one of the negotiators of the Jay Treaty with England in 1794 and Governor of New York, 1795-1801.

By Charles Willson Peale or a copy after him by Rembrandt Peale. 23½ x 19½.

Purchase. 1857.2.4

103. HUGH JENKINS (1798?-1863)

Native of Waterford, Ireland; merchant and president of the Hibernian Society of Baltimore, 1846-1864.

By Thomas C. Corner, copy after an unknown artist. Signed: *Thos. C. Corner/-1894-* 50 x 38 (sight).

Gift of The Hibernian Society. 44.23.2

104. LOUIS EICHELBERGER JOHNSON

Son of Reverdy Johnson.

By Carl Bersch. Inscribed: *Bersch [and] Maj. Louis E. Johnson Paymaster USA. 1861.* 22 x 14½

Gift of Alan M. Johnson. 37.6.1

105. REVERDY JOHNSON (1796-1876)

Of Baltimore; lawyer and diplomat; United States Senator, 1845-1849, 1862-1868; attorney-general of the United States under

Taylor, 1849-1853; minister to Great Britain, 1868-1869. He was a Whig, a Unionist during the Civil War, later a Republican.

By William E. West. 36 x 28 $\frac{1}{4}$.

Gift of Mrs. Charles G. Kerr. 23.16.1

106. THOMAS JOHNSON (1732-1819)

Of Frederick County, Maryland. Delegate to the Continental Congress, 1774-1777, 1781-1787, on whose motion Washington was made Commander-in-Chief of the Army; first Governor of Maryland, 1777-1779; Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1791-1793; he declined Washington's offer of the posts of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and of Secretary of State, 1797.

By John Hesselius. 30 x 25 $\frac{1}{4}$.

Deposited by Mrs. Frye. 27.29.1

107. MRS. THOMAS JOHNSON (Ann Jennings) (1745-1794)

By John Hesselius. 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 25.

Deposited by Mrs. Frye. 27.29.2

108. SAMUEL JOHNSTON (1727-1810)

Lawyer of York, Pennsylvania, and Baltimore; suspected of Tory sympathies.

By Charles Peale Polk. 36 x 28.

Bequest of Mrs. Thomas B. Gresham. 26.39.1

109. JOHANN DE KALB (1721-1780)

"Baron de Kalb"; distinguished in the service of France, this officer served with the Revolutionary forces in America and was mortally wounded at Camden.

By James R. Lambdin after Charles Willson Peale. Inscription on back: "*Portrait of the Baron de Kalb/ Copied from the original by C. W. Peale/ in Independence Hall, Phila/ and presented to the Historical Socy/ of Maryland by/ J. R Lambdin./ March 1857*". 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{8}$.

Gift of James R. Lambdin. 1857.3.1

110. GEORGE PROCTOR KANE (1820-1878)

Collector of the Port of Baltimore; marshal of police during the riots of 1861, and a leader of the Southern sympathizers, for which he was imprisoned. President of the Hibernian Society, 1872-1878. By Oscar Hallwig, 1893, probably after a photograph. 32 x 27 (sight).

Gift of the Hibernian Society. 44.23.5

111. CHARLES KEAN (1811-1868)

Famous English actor in character of *Hamlet*.

By Jan Angus. Signed: *J. A.* 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9. Oil on panel.

Gift of Mrs. Joseph H. Meredith. 1891.1.3

112. GEORGE MICHAEL KREBS (1758-1823)
 Merchant of Philadelphia; proprietor of a brick kiln, a view of which is in the background. The paper he holds bears the following: "No reason/ of Complaints as there was in/ Egypt. Exodus Chap 5"
 By James Peale. Signed: *I. Peale/ 1804.* 36 x 28½.
 Bequest of Miss Ida Krebs. 25.28.1
113. MRS. GEORGE MICHAEL KREBS (Elizabeth Wagner) (d. 1846)
 By Sarah M. Peale. 36 x 28¾.
 Bequest of Miss Ida Krebs. 25.28.2
114. WILLIAM KREBS
 Died while a student at the Princeton Theological Seminary.
 By Francis M. Drexel. Signed: *F. M. Drexel/ Pinxt 1822.* 30 x 25½.
 Bequest of Miss Ida Krebs. 25.28.5
115. GENERAL THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE (1757-1834)
 Liberal and soldier.
 Unattributed French, from life. 36½ x 29.
 Gift of William Power Wilson. 1889.2.1
116. GENERAL THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE (1757-1834)
 See above.
 This painting formerly hung in the Commercial Reading Room in the Baltimore Exchange.
 Unattributed American after Ary Scheffer. 93 x 68¼.
 Bequest of Marcus L. Dudley in memory of George U. Porter.
 01.2.2
117. JOHN HAZELHURST BONEVAL LATROBE (1803-1891)
 Lawyer, amateur artist, and inventor; president of The Maryland Historical Society, 1871-1891; counsel for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1827-1891.
 By John Dabour. Signed: *J. Dabour/1891.* 30 x 25.
 Purchase. 1896.6.1
118. JOHN HAZLEHURST BONEVAL LATROBE (1803-1891)
 See above.
 Artist unknown. Inscribed on back. *JHB La Trobe/Aet 29/ September 1832.*
 37½ x 2¾ Oval. Oil on paper.
 Gift of Latrobe Cogswell. 45.105.2
119. MYRA LEAKIN (b. ca. 1855)
 Of Baltimore; painted *circa* 1860.
 By Hans Heinrich Bebie. 20¾ x 16¾.
 The J. Wilson Leakin Collection. 23.17.26



No. 29. MRS. SAMUEL CHASE and DAUGHTERS
By Charles Willson Peale



No. 60. SARAH FITZHUGH
By John Hesselius

120. SHEPPARD CHURCH LEAKIN (1790-1867)
Printer, publisher and proprietor of the *Baltimore Chronicle*; captain in the 38th Infantry, Maryland Militia, at Battle of North Point, 1814; Mayor of Baltimore, 1838-1840.
By Sarah M. Peale. 30 x 25.
The J. Wilson Leakin Collection. 23.17.27
121. ROBERT EDWARD LEE (1807-1870)
Confederate Commander-in-Chief; president of Washington College, Lexington, Va. This portrait was purchased at the Ladies Southern Relief Association Fair at the Maryland Institute, Baltimore, 1866.
Artist unknown. 27 x 23.
Gift of Armistead M. Webb. 32.4.1
122. JOHN CARROLL LE GRAND (1814-1861)
Of Baltimore; assistant judge, Sixth Judicial District, 1844-1851; chief judge, Maryland Court of Appeals, 1851-1861; secretary of state of Maryland, 1842-1844.
By Henry G. McCann. Inscription on back: *Hon. John Carroll Legrande/Chief Justice of Maryland/ Painted from life in 1854/ by McCann.* 30 x 24 $\frac{3}{4}$.
Deposited by Miss Preston. 1886.2.3
123. JOHN MIDDLETON LOVELL (1763-1799)
Adjutant 2nd Brigade, Massachusetts Militia, 1789, major, 1790; lieutenant, U. S. Corps of Artillerists and Engineers, 1795.
Unattributed American. 30 x 24 $\frac{3}{4}$.
The Eaton Collection. 30.21.171
124. FIELDING LUCAS, JR. (1781-1854)
Baltimore publisher and bookseller; president Second Branch, City Council, 1838-1841; president Board of School Commissioners, 1837-1838; director Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, 1835-1854.
Attributed to Sarah M. Peale. 30 x 25.
Gift of Mrs. Virginia Halsey Twinch. 43.19.1
125. THE JAMES McCORMICK FAMILY
Prominent mercantile family of Baltimore.
JAMES McCORMICK (c. 1760-1841)
MRS. JAMES McCORMICK (1762-1810)
(Rachel Ridgely Lux)
WILLIAM LUX McCORMICK (b. 1803)
SOPHIA PLEASANTS McCORMICK
(Mrs. Hammond)
JOHN PLEASANTS McCORMICK (1799-1862)
By Joshua Johnston, Negro painter. 50 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 69 $\frac{5}{8}$.
Gift of Dr. Thomas C. McCormick. 20.6.1

126. HASLETT MCKIM (1812-1891)
 Merchant of Baltimore and New York; president of the Baltimore and Cuba Smelting and Mining Company.
 Unattributed American. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$.
 Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.4
127. ISAAC MCKIM (1775-1838)
 Baltimore shipping merchant; builder of the noted clipper *Ann McKim* (named for his wife); served as aide to General Samuel Smith, 1814; state senator, 1821-1823; member of Congress, 1823-1825, 1833-1838; one of the original directors of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1827-1831.
 By Rembrandt Peale. $36\frac{1}{4} \times 28$.
 Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.1
128. JOHN MCKIM, JR. (1766-1842)
 Merchant of Baltimore; assisted in financing the defence of Baltimore in 1814; one of the incorporators of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.
 By Rembrandt Peale. $33\frac{1}{2} \times 28$.
 Gift of William Power Wilson. 23.11.1
129. MRS. JOHN MCKIM, JR. (Margaret Telfair) (1770-1836)
 By Rembrandt Peale. $33\frac{1}{4} \times 28$.
 Gift of William Power Wilson. 23.11.2
130. MRS. WILLIAM DUNCAN MCKIM (Susan Haslett) (1780-1876)
 Of Baltimore.
 Unattributed American. 30×25 .
 Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.2
131. MRS. WILLIAM DUNCAN MCKIM (Susan Haslett) (1780-1876)
 Unattributed American. $16 \times 11\frac{3}{4}$.
 Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.3
132. ALLAN McLANE (1746-1829)
 Lieutenant in the Delaware Militia, 1776; captain of Patton's Continental Regiment, 1777; senior captain of Lee's Legion; served as major under Steuben in Virginia; appointed collector of Port of Wilmington by Washington and served until the time of his death.
 By Rembrandt Peale. $28\frac{5}{8} \times 23\frac{7}{8}$.
 Deposited by Miss Elizabeth Curzon McLane. 25.31.1
133. LOUIS McLANE (1786-1857)
 Of Delaware and Cecil County, Maryland; member of Congress for Delaware, 1816-1827; United States Senator, 1827-1829; minister to Great Britain, 1829-1831; Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of State under Jackson; member of the Maryland

Constitutional Convention of 1850; president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1837-1847.

By Rembrandt Peale. $28\frac{7}{8} \times 23\frac{3}{4}$.

Deposited by Miss Elizabeth Curzon McLane. 25.32.1

134. JAMES MADISON, SR. (1751-1801)

Of Virginia; father of President Madison.

By Charles Peale Polk. Signed: *C. P. Polk/ pinxt/* 1799. $59\frac{3}{4} \times 40\frac{3}{4}$.

Gift of Mrs. Drayton Meade Hite. 18.10.1

135 MRS. JAMES MADISON, SR. (Eleanor Rose Conway) (1739-1821)

By Charles Peale Polk. $59\frac{5}{8} \times 40\frac{5}{8}$.

Gift of Mrs. Drayton Meade Hite. 18.10.2

136. JOHN MARSHALL (1755-1835)

Of Virginia; second Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

By George C. Lambdin after Henry Inman. $35\frac{3}{4} \times 29$.

Deposited by Mrs. J. V. McNeil. 1886.1.7

137. ENNALLS MARTIN, JR.

Of Talbot County, Maryland.

By Thomas C. Ruckle. $29\frac{7}{8} \times 24\frac{7}{8}$.

Deposited by Mrs. Mary L. Martin. 03.3.1

138. MRS. ENNALLS MARTIN, JR. (Mary McNabb)

By Thomas C. Ruckle. $29\frac{5}{8} \times 24\frac{7}{8}$.

Deposited by Mrs. Mary L. Martin. 03.3.2

139. WILLIAM MAXWELL or NATHANAEL GREENE MAXWELL

By Joseph Wood. Signed: *Del by/ Jos Wood/* 1830. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$.
Oil on paper.

The Redwood Collection. XX.4.224

140. BRANTZ MAYER (1809-1879)

Lawyer, author, traveller; one of the editors of *The Baltimore American*; a founder and President of The Maryland Historical Society, 1867-71; he served in the Army of the United States during and after the Civil War.

By Edward McDowell. Signed: *E. McDowell.* 38×31

Purchase. 1896.4.2

141. JONATHAN MEREDITH (1784-1872)

Distinguished lawyer of Baltimore; at one time a partner of William Wirt.

By John Wesley Jarvis. $33\frac{1}{4} \times 26\frac{7}{8}$.

Gift of Mrs. Gilmore Meredith. 1899.1.1

142. THOMAS MIFFLIN (1744-1800)

Of Pennsylvania; member of the First Continental Congress, 1774; aide to Washington, 1775; Quartermaster-General, 1775-1778; Governor of Pennsylvania, 1790-1799.

By Rembrandt Peale after Charles Willson Peale. $23\frac{1}{4} \times 19\frac{1}{8}$.

Purchase. 1857.2.8

143. PAUL CHARLES MORPHY (1837-1884)

Of New Orleans; in 1859 acclaimed as champion chess player of the world and an unparalleled chess genius.

By Solomon N. Carvalho. $36 \times 28\frac{7}{8}$.

Provenance not established.

144. JOHN GOTTLIEB MORRIS (1803-1895)

Clergyman, scientist, author; Pastor First English Lutheran Church, Baltimore; leading Lutheran scholar in America; first librarian of the Peabody Institute; president of the Maryland Academy of Sciences, of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, and of the Maryland Historical Society, 1895.

By Oscar Hallwig. 30×25 .

Purchase. 1896.4.3

145. "OLD MOSES" (MOSES JOHNS) (d. 1847)

Baltimore Negro ice cream and oyster vendor.

By Thomas Waterman Wood. Signed: *T.W.W.* $5\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$.

The Redwood Collection. XX.4.243

146. HENRY MYERS (1795-1870)

Baltimore merchant; fought at North Point, 1814; captain of 39th Regiment, Maryland Militia; judge of Appeal Tax Court.

Unattributed American. 30×25 .

Gift of Andrew J. Kone. 14.3.1

147. NAPOLEON III (1808-1873)

Emperor of the French.

Unattributed European. 29×23 . Oval.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.70

148. ROGER NELSON (1759-1815)

Of Frederick County, Maryland; lieutenant of 5th Regiment, Maryland Militia, 1780; fought at Guilford Court House, 1781; present at Yorktown; admitted to bar 1785; in 1793, at time of Whiskey Rebellion, he organized and led a cavalry troop; Brigadier General Maryland Militia; served in the Maryland House of Delegates; Federal House of Representatives, 1804-1810; Associate Judge, 6th

Judicial Circuit of Maryland, 1810-1815; for many years Democratic leader in the House.

Unattributed American. Altered copy after a miniature. 30 x 24 $\frac{1}{8}$.

Bequest of Mrs. Josephine Nelson Hamlin. 40.25.1

149. MRS. JOSEPH NICHOLSON (Elizabeth Hopper) (1739-1806) and ELIZABETH NICHOLSON NOEL (1797-1851)

Of Queen Anne's County, Maryland.

The subjects may have been incorrectly identified by the former owner and this may be the double portrait listed in the 1823 Catalogue of the Peale Museum as "No. 136. Mrs. N. Bosley and Grandchild by Miss S. M. Peale. Owner D. Bosley."

By Sarah M. Peale. 36 x 27.

The Noel-Wyatt Collection. XX.1.5

150. MRS. PERRY ECCLESTON NOEL (Sarah Nicholson) (1776-1846)

Of Queen Anne's County, Maryland.

By Sarah M. Peale. 35 x 27 $\frac{1}{2}$.

The Noel-Wyatt Collection. XX.1.7

151. CHARLES OLIVER (1792-1858)

Of Baltimore and Paris.

Attributed to Jacob Eichholtz. 29 x 24.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 36.4.9

152. JOHN OLIVER (d. 1823)

Prominent Baltimore merchant of the firm of R. and J. Oliver; president of the Hibernian Society of Baltimore.

By William James Hubbard. 7 x 6. Oil on panel.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.3.

153. JOHN OLIVER. (d. 1823)

See above.

By Rembrandt Peale, altered copy after Gilbert Stuart. Painted on order of the Hibernian Society, 1824. 54 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 40 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Gift of the Hibernian Society. 44.23.1

154. ROBERT OLIVER (1759-1834)

Native of Ireland; probably the wealthiest and most prominent Baltimore merchant of his day; senior member of the firm of R. and J. Oliver.

By William James Hubbard. 7 x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$. Oil on panel.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.1

155. ROBERT OLIVER (1759-1834)

See above.

By or after William James Hubbard. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Oil on panel.

Gift of Washington Perine. 43.41.3

156. ROBERT OLIVER (1759-1834)
See above.
By John Wesley Jarvis. 30 x 25.
The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 36.4.8
157. MRS. THOMAS OLIVER (Mary Caile Harrison) (1805-1873)
Of Baltimore.
Attributed to Jacob Eichholtz. 22½ x 18¾.
The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 36.4.6
158. JOHN PACA (1712-1781)
Of Bush River, Harford County, Maryland; burgess for Baltimore County, 1745-1763; father of William Paca, the "Signer."
By Charles Willson Peale. 50 x 40¼.
Deposited by the Peabody Institute. 24.24.3
159. WILLIAM PACA (1740-1799).
Of "Wye Hall." Student at the Inner Temple; elected to the Provincial Assembly, 1768; member of the Maryland Committee of Correspondence and the first and second Continental Congresses; Signer of the Declaration of Independence; member of the Maryland Council of Safety; chief judge of the Maryland General Court, 1778; appointed by Congress chief justice of the court of appeals in admiralty and prize cases, 1780; Governor of Maryland, 1782-1785; delegate to the Maryland Convention, which adopted the Federal Constitution, 1788; appointed United States district judge, 1789. The Society of the Cincinnati elected Paca to honorary membership for his services during the war.
By Charles Willson Peale. 87 x 57 (sight).
Deposited by the Peabody Institute. 24.24.4
160. WILLIAM PATTERSON (1752-1835)
Native of Ireland; wealthy Baltimore merchant whose daughter Elizabeth (Betsy) married Jerome Bonaparte.
By Thomas Sully. Signed: *TS. 1821*. 30 x 25.
Bequest of Mrs. George Patterson. 1883.1.1
161. GEORGE PEABODY (1795-1869).
Merchant, international banker, philanthropist of Baltimore and London; benefactor of the Maryland Historical Society.
By James Read Lambdin. Signed in monogram: *JRL/ 1857*. 35½ x 29.
Purchase. 1857.4.1
162. DAVID MAULDEN PERINE (1796-1882)
Of "Homeland," Baltimore County; distinguished lawyer; for many years register of wills in Baltimore.
By Thomas Sully. Signed: *TS. 1852*. 24 x 20.
Bequest of Washington Perine. 44.55.1

163. OLIVER HAZARD PERRY (1785-1819)
Distinguished naval officer; the "Hero of Lake Erie," 1813; Captain, 1813.
By Rembrandt Peale. 23 x 19.
Purchase. 1857.2.7
164. OLIVER HAZARD PERRY (1785-1819)
See above.
Unattributed American. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$. Oil on panel.
Deposited by the Peabody Institute. 39.7.1
165. ELIZA PHILLIPS
Of Harford County, Maryland.
By John Beale Bordley. 30 x 25.
Gift of Dr. James Bordley, Jr. 44.68.1
166. THOMAS M. POST
1st lieutenant and captain in the 12th U. S. Infantry, 1812-1813.
Unattributed American. 30 x 25.
Bequest of Miss Margaret R. Yoe. 40.20.1
167. THOMAS G. PRATT (1804-1869)
Of Prince George's County, Maryland, and Baltimore; lawyer; member of the House of Delegates, 1832-1835; state senator, 1838-1843; Governor of Maryland, 1845-1848; United States Senator, 1849-1857.
Unattributed American. 34 x 27.
Deposited by Miss Florence Hobson. 36.14.1
168. MRS. THOMAS G. PRATT (Adeline Kent) (1815-1897)
Unattributed American. $34 \times 26\frac{3}{4}$.
Deposited by Miss Florence Hobson. 36.14.2
169. WILLIAM P. PRESTON (died 1880)
Baltimore lawyer.
Unattributed American. Inscription on back of canvas: *Wm P. Preston's portrait/ in 1835*. 30 x 25.
Deposited by Mrs. J. V. McNeil. 1886.1.11
170. MRS. JOHN PROUD (Lurana —) (1755-1827)
Attributed to George William West. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{16}$. Oil on panel.
The Redwood Collection. XX.4.215
171. NATHANIEL RAMSAY (1741-1817)
Delegate to the Maryland Convention, and the Continental Congress, 1775; captain in Smallwood's Maryland Regiment, 1776, and lieutenant in the 3rd Maryland Regiment, Continental Line; member

of the Continental Congress, 1785-1787; appointed naval officer of the Baltimore District, 1794.

By Helen Colburn after Charles Willson Peale. Signed: *Mrs. R. Colburn*. 30 x 25

Gift of Mrs. J. G. Barnard. 1889.1.1

172. MRS. JACOB READ (Catherine Van Horne)
Of South Carolina.

Unattributed American. 36 x 27 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Deposited by the late Mrs. Florence Read Beaton. 04.2.9

173. GEORGE HENRY REPOLD (1756-1811)

Of the firm of Repold and Waesche, merchants of Baltimore.

Unattributed American. 34 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 27.

Bequest of Miss Margaret E. Maund. 31.7.1

174. MRS. GEORGE HENRY REPOLD (Metta Spannhoffd) (1762-1826)

By John Neagle. Signed: *Painted by Jno Neagle/ Jany 1st/ 1823—Baltimore. Md.* 33 x 27.

Bequest of Miss Margaret E. Maund. 31.7.2

175. MRS. CHARLES RIDGELY (Rebecca Lawson) (1752-1801)

Of "Ridgely's Delight," Baltimore.

Unattributed American. 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 12.

Bequest of Richard H. Thompson. 40.9.2

176. WILLIAM PATRICK RYAN (c. 1858-1933)

Collector of the Port of Baltimore; president of the Hibernian Society of Baltimore.

By H. A. Roben. Signed: *H. A. Roben*. 36 x 29 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Gift of the Hibernian Society. 42.23.4

177. ALBERT SCHUMACHER (1802-1871)

Baltimore merchant and consul for the Hansa towns; president of the Board of Trade of Baltimore; president of the German Society of Baltimore, 1840-1871.

Signed: *Bendann*. 30 x 25.

Gift of Mrs. G. A. von Lingen. 20.32.1

178. GEORGE H. SHAFER (1798-1877)

Of "Spring Dale," Washington County, Maryland.

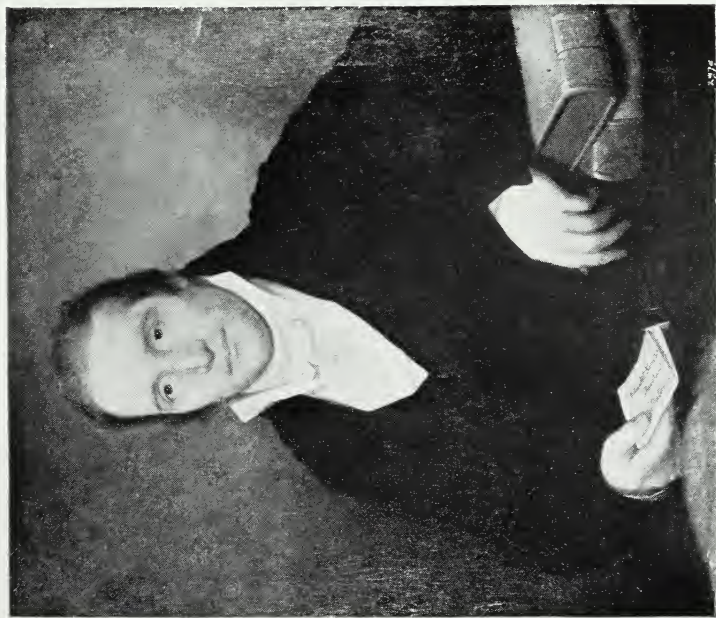
By John Beale Bordley. 30 x 25.

Gift of Miss Rose Bond Cowman. 26.28.3

179. MRS. GEORGE H. SHAFER (Martha Bond van Swearingen) 1805-1887)

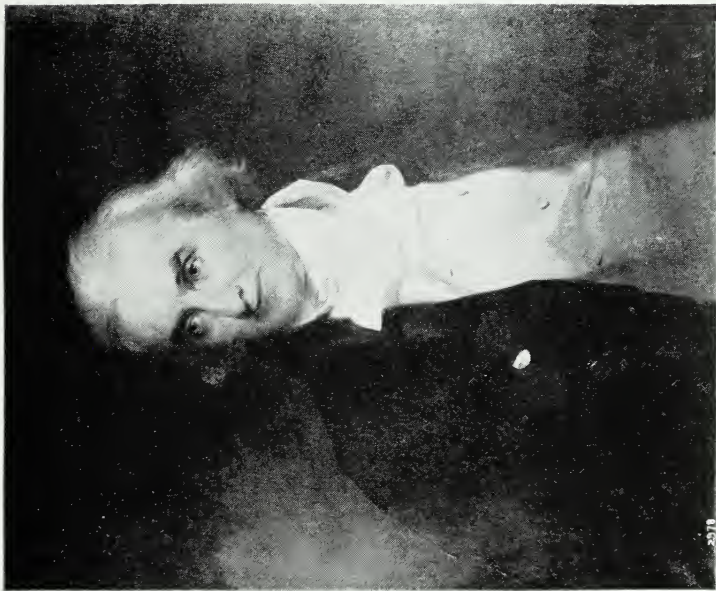
By John Beale Bordley. 30 x 25.

Gift of Miss Rose Bond Cowman. 26.28.4



No. 128. JOHN MCKIM, JR.

By Rembrandt Peale



No. 160. WILLIAM PATTERSON

By Thomas Sully

180. RICHARD SILLS

By John R. Johnston. Signed: *John R. Johnston/ Balt 1858.* 36½ x 28¾.

Provenance not established.

181. AZARIAH H. SIMMONS (1807-1855)

New York printer who with William M. Swain and Arunah S. Abell in 1836 established the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, and in the succeeding year the Baltimore *Sun*.

Unattributed American. 30¾₁₆ x 24¾₄.

Deposited by Mrs. J. V. McNeil. 1886.1.12

182. WILLIAM SMALLWOOD (1732-1792)

Of Charles County, Maryland. Delegate to the Maryland Assembly, 1761; appointed in January, 1776, to command the Maryland troops of the Continental Line; brigadier general, October, 1776; major general, 1780; Governor of Maryland, 1785-1787.

By James K. Harley after Charles Willson Peale. 30 x 25.

Purchase. 1853.1.1

183. JOHN SPEAR SMITH (1786-1866)

Of "Montebello," Baltimore County, Maryland; lawyer and merchant; attaché in London, 1809-1810; at the Battle of Baltimore, 1814, served as aide to his father (see below) in the Third Division of the Maryland Militia; member of the State Senate and Chief Judge of the Orphans Court of Baltimore; first President of the Maryland Historical Society, 1844-1866.

By James K. Harley. 30 x 25.

Gift of Robert Carter Smith. 1893.2.1

184. SAMUEL SMITH (1752-1839)

Of Baltimore; builder of "Montebello," Baltimore County, Maryland; served in the Revolution as captain, major, and lieutenant colonel; for defense of Fort Mifflin was voted a sword and the thanks of Congress; member of Congress, 1793-1803 and 1816-1822; acting Secretary of the Navy, 1801; major general, 3rd Division, Maryland Militia, in command of the defenses of Baltimore, 1814; United States Senator, 1803-1815 and 1822-1823; Mayor of Baltimore, 1835-1838.

By Michael Laty after Gilbert Stuart. Inscribed in ink on back: "*General Samuel Smith.*" 29⅞ x 25¼.

Gift of General John Spear Smith and others. 1846.3.2

185. SAMUEL SMITH (1752-1839)

See above. Painted in his 84th year.

Unattributed American. 38 x 32⅞.

Provenance not established.

186. JAMES HOPEWELL SOMERVILLE (1822-1850)
Of Southern Maryland; lieutenant, U. S. Navy, who served in the Mexican War.
Unattributed American. $13\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$. Oval.
Deposited by Charles B. Tiernan. 07.2.1
187. MRS. ROBERT MILES SPILLER (Augusta Maltby)
Unattributed American. 30×25 .
Gift of Mrs. William G. Spiller and Mrs. Randolph G. Adams.
44.8.1
188. SEBASTIAN FERRIS STREETER (1810-1864)
Author and publisher; one of the founders of the Richmond, Virginia, *Star*; in 1834, in Baltimore, established *The Transcript*, which later became *The Post*; a leading member of the Union party in Maryland. He was Recording Secretary of the Maryland Historical Society from 1844 until his death.
By James K. Harley. 30×25 .
Purchase. 1865.2.1
189. JOHN STRICKER (1759-1825)
Of Frederick, Maryland, and Baltimore; served in the Pennsylvania Line during the Revolution; in the War of 1812 was brigadier general of the Third Brigade, Maryland Militia; participated in the Battle of North Point, 1814.
By Charles B. King. Signed: *General Stricker/ C. B. KING Pinxt/ BALTIMORE 1816*. $44\frac{1}{2} \times 34\frac{1}{2}$.
Gift of Charles B. Tiernan. 1852.2.1
190. ROGER BROOKE TANEY (1777-1864)
Admitted to bar, 1799; member of State Legislature, 1799-1800; Maryland Senate, 1816-1821; attorney-general of Maryland, 1827; attorney-general, acting Secretary of War, 1831; his recess appointment as Secretary of the Treasury, 1833, was rejected by the Senate; Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, 1836-1864.
By or after Charles B. King. $22\frac{1}{2} \times 19$.
Gift of Washington Perine. 43.41.1
191. ANTHONY THOMPSON (1741-1809)
Of "Whitley Wood Hall," Sheffield, England.
By Thomas Peat. Inscription on back: *Painted by/ Thos Peat No 290 Holborn/ 1789*. $12 \times 9\frac{1}{8}$. Oil on tin. Oval.
The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.9
192. CHARLES THOMSON (1729-1824)
Of "Harriton," Philadelphia; merchant; statesman; scholar; for fifteen years secretary to the Continental Congress.

By Charles Willson Peale, or copy after him by Rembrandt Peale.
23 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 19 $\frac{1}{4}$.

Purchase. 1857.2.3

193. HENRY THOMPSON (1774-1837)

Of "Clifton" (now Clifton Park), Baltimore; prominent Baltimore merchant.

By John Wesley Jarvis. 27 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 22 $\frac{5}{8}$. Oil on panel.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 36.4.1

194. MRS. HENRY THOMPSON (Ann Lux Bowley) (1776-1847)

By Sarah M. Peale. 30 x 25.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 36.4.5

195. HENRY ANTHONY THOMPSON (1800-1880)

Adjutant 4th Artillery, U. S. A.; Baltimore merchant and banker.

By Sarah M. Peale. 30 x 25.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 36.4.2

196. MRS. HENRY ANTHONY THOMPSON (Julie Zelina DeMacklot)
(1808-1861)

By Sarah M. Peale. 30 x 25.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.4.4

197. MRS. HUGH THOMPSON (Elizabeth Sprigg) (1770-1814)

Unidentified artist. Signature illegible. 13 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{7}{8}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.35

198. MRS. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TIMOTHY (Anne Telfair)

By Rembrandt Peale. 30 x 25.

Gift of William Power Wilson. 23.11.3

199. NATHAN TOWSON (1784-1854)

Of Baltimore County. Captain in the War of 1812, who served in the Northern Department; Paymaster General of the United States; in the Mexican War brevetted major general, 1849.

By Rembrandt Peale. 22 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 19.

Purchase. 1857.2.2

200. ABEL PARKER UPSHUR (1790-1844)

Lawyer and statesman of Richmond, Virginia; Secretary of the Navy, 1841; Secretary of State after the resignation of Daniel Webster.

By Sarah Peale. Inscription on back: *Abel P. Upshur/ Aged 52/ Painted by/ Miss Sarah M. Peale/ in the summer of/ 1842.* 30 x 24 $\frac{7}{8}$.

Gift of James T. Ringgold. 1896.1.1

201. ADALBERT JOHN VOLCK (1828-1912)
 Political refugee from Germany; dentist, artist, silversmith, best known for his caricatures of Lincoln and the Union cause during the Civil War.
 By Harper Pennington. Signed in monogram: "HP / '82." 40 x 29 $\frac{7}{8}$.
 Gift of Mrs. F. H. Falkinburg.
202. FREDERICK WAESCHE (1777-1825)
 Of the firm of Repold and Waesche, Baltimore merchants.
 Attributed to Jacob Eichholtz. 30 x 25.
 Bequest of Miss Margaret Maund. 31.7.3
203. HENRY WAGGAMAN (d. 1809)
 Of "Fairview," Dorchester County, Maryland; prominent lawyer; a delegate to the Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution, 1788.
 By Charles Willson Peale. 30 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{8}$.
 Gift of Dr. George S. Macdonald. 34.13.1
204. SEVERN TEACKLE WALLIS (1816-1894)
 Lawyer, author; one of the members of the Maryland Legislature imprisoned in 1861; President of the Maryland Historical Society, 1892-1894.
 By Thomas C. Corner, probably from a photograph. Signed: *Thos. C Corner-/ 1896.* 30 x 25.
 Purchase. 1896.4.1
205. MICHAEL WARNER (1774-1848)
 Quartermaster, 51st Regiment, Maryland Militia, 1812; proprietor of extensive brickworks near Baltimore.
 By James Wattles. 33 x 25 $\frac{3}{8}$.
 Bequest of Miss Ida Krebs. 25.28.3
206. MRS. MICHAEL WARNER (Anna Maria Beckley) (1775-1849)
 By James Wattles. 33 x 25 $\frac{3}{8}$.
 Bequest of Miss Ida Krebs. 25.28.4
207. GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799)
 First President of the United States.
 By James House. Inscription on back of canvas: *Washington/ copied/ from Stuart's first picture/ by/ General James House/ 1798.* 11 x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$.
 Deposited by the Peabody Institute. 38.10.1
208. GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799)
 By Gilbert Stuart. 29 x 24.
 Gift of Miss Richea Etting. 1878.1.1

209. GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799)

By Jane Stuart after Gilbert Stuart. $38\frac{1}{2} \times 31\frac{5}{8}$.

Gift of the Germania Club. 18.8.1

210. GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799)

Unattributed American after Gilbert Stuart. This painting, and one of Lafayette, hung for many years in the Commercial Reading Room, Baltimore. $92\frac{1}{2} \times 59\frac{3}{8}$.

Bequest of Marcus L. Dudley in memory of George U. Porter.
01.2.1

211. WASHINGTON AND HIS GENERALS AT YORKTOWN

Robert Gilmor, the donor, in 1845 said, "The principal figure is Washington, who is in the center—on his right hand stands the Marquis de Lafayette, and between them in the rear is General Knox. On the left of Washington is unquestionably the Count de Rochambeau, with his star. On his left, and in the rear is a French officer, at least I presume so from the order of St. Louis which he wears in his buttonhole, though it is not improbable it may be Rochambeau, and the officer with the Star, the Duke de Lauzun. The last person in profile, with a scroll (perhaps the capitulation to be proposed) is probably Col. Hamilton or Col. Laurens. I think it is most likely to be the latter, as Hamilton was a small man."

The donor ascribed the painting to "the venerable Charles W. Peale, long deceased" and in the catalogue of the second annual exhibition at the Peale Museum, Baltimore, in 1823 were listed: "No. 150. General Washington after the Siege of York, Va. (owned by Col. Hindman) and No. 155, The Siege of York, Va. (owned by Mrs. Dobbin)," both by Charles Willson Peale. In 1893 at the Chicago Exposition, a painting with a similar title (ex-collection Lafayette) was exhibited as signed by James Peale and dated; recent listings of the Maryland Historical Society canvas have followed the latter. However, in view of the entries in the 1823 Catalogue, and the fact that Charles Willson Peale was alive when it was printed, it is possible that the original attribution is the correct one. $29\frac{1}{2} \times 21$.

Gift of Robert Gilmor. 1845.3.1

212. WILLIAM WASHINGTON (1752-1810)

Of Virginia, and "Sandy Hill," St. Paul's Parish, South Carolina; captain of the Third Virginia Regiment, 1776; major 4th Continental Dragoons, 1777; lieutenant colonel Third Dragoons, 1778. Congress in 1781 "Resolved that a medal of silver be presented to Lieutenant Colonel Washington of the cavalry with emblems and

- notices descriptive of his conduct at the battle of Cowpens, January 17, 1781."
- By Rembrandt Peale after Charles Willson Peale. $23\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{1}{4}$.
Purchase. 1857.2.5
213. DANIEL WEBSTER (1782-1852)
Lawyer, orator, statesman, Secretary of State under Harrison, Tyler, and Fillmore.
By Edward C. Willmore. Signed: *Willmore/Balto/Md.* $24\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{3}{4}$. Oil on panel.
Gift of Mrs. E. R. Baer. 1889.4.1
214. BENJAMIN WILLIAMS (1763-1812)
Baltimore merchant.
Unattributed American. $30 \times 24\frac{3}{4}$.
The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.77.
215. MRS. BENJAMIN WILLIAMS (Sarah [Copeland] Morton) (1778-1870)
By Thomas Sully. Signed: *TS. 1821.* 30×25 .
Gift of Mrs. Charles J. Bonaparte. XX.5.550
216. OTHO HOLLAND WILLIAMS (1749-1794)
Distinguished Revolutionary officer; appointed colonel of the 6th Maryland Regiment, 1776; served as Adjutant General under Greene in the Southern Campaign, 1782; promoted to Brigadier General, 1782; appointed by Washington Collector of the Port of Baltimore.
By Michael Laty after Charles Willson Peale. $30\frac{1}{4} \times 25$.
Gift of Mrs. Williams and family. 1846.4.1
217. OTHO HOLLAND WILLIAMS (1749-1794)
See above.
By Sarah M. Peale after Charles Willson Peale. $29\frac{1}{2} \times 24\frac{1}{2}$. Oval.
Deposited by the Society of the Cincinnati. 20.36.1
218. MRS. YOUNG (née Barney?)
Unattributed American. $15\frac{1}{4} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$.
Bequest of Richard M. Thompson. 40.9.1
219. CHILD IN BLUE
Unattributed American. $37\frac{1}{2} \times 28\frac{5}{8}$.
Provenance not established.
220. UNKNOWN LADY
Unattributed American. $21\frac{3}{4} \times 18$.
Bequest of Miss Ellen C. Daingerfield. 12.1.8

221. UNKNOWN LADY

Unattributed European. $28\frac{1}{4} \times 21\frac{1}{2}$.

Provenance not established.

222. UNKNOWN MAN

Unattributed American. 36×29 .

Provenance not established.

INDEX OF ARTISTS

JAN ANGUS

Charles Kean

JOSEPH BADGER

Elizabeth Gould

Sarah Gould

Hannah Gould

HANS HEINRICH BEBIE

Myra Leakin

DAVID OR DANIEL BENDANN

Albert Schumacher

CARL BERSCH

Louis Eichelberger Johnson

JOHN BEALE BORDLEY

Eliza Phillips

Mrs. George H. Shafer

George H. Shafer

SOLOMON N. CARVALHO

George M. Gill

Paul Charles Morphy

ANDRÉ CASTAIGNE

Felix Agnus

WILLIAM CLARK

Augustine Herrman (copy after lost original)

Mrs. Augustine Herrmann (copy after lost original)

HELEN COLBURN

Nathaniel Ramsay (copy after Charles Willson Peale)

COLSZ

Empress Eugenie (copy after Colsz by unknown artist)

GEORGE COOKE

Benjamin Gwinn Harris

Joseph Harris

Mrs. Benjamin Gwinn Harris

THOMAS C. CORNER

Daniel James Foley
Hugh Jenkins

Severn Teackle Wallis

ISAAC EUGENE CRAIG

Hugh Davey Evans

JOHN DABOUR

Samuel Knox George

John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe

LOUIS DIETERICH

Charles Carroll Bombaugh

Arthur Pue Gorman

FRANCIS M. DREXEL

William Krebs

OLIVER T. EDDY

Children of Israel T. Griffith Jane Rebecca Griffith
Jane Rebecca Griffith (see note under 85)

JACOB EICHHOLTZ

Charles Oliver
Mrs. Thomas Oliver

Frederick Waesche

CHARLES LORING ELLIOTT

Charles Bradenbaugh

ROBERT FIELD

Charles Carroll of Carrollton (copy by Laty)
Robert Goodloe Harper (copy by Harper Pennington)

ERNST FISCHER

Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte

L. G. FLORANCE

Georgie Cohen

FRANCIS GUY

Daniel Bowly and David Harris

OSCAR HALLWIG

George Proctor Kane

John Gottlieb Morris

PAUL HALLWIG

Felix Agnus

CHESTER HARDING

Edward Gray

JAMES K. HARLEY

Mordecai Gist (copy after Charles	John Spear Smith
Willson Peale)	Sebastian Ferris Streeter
William Smallwood	

GUSTAVUS HESSELIUS

Thomas Bordley	Mrs. Henry Darnall, III
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JOHN HESSELIUS

Sarah Fitzhugh	Mrs. Thomas Johnson
Thomas Johnson	

JAMES HOUSE

Anna Maria Coale
George Washington (copy after Gilbert Stuart)

WILLIAM JAMES HUBARD

Mrs. Edward Johnson Coale	John Oliver
Mrs. Roswell Lyman Colt	Robert Oliver
Robert Morgan Gibbes	Robert Oliver

HENRY INMAN

John Marshall (copy by George C. Lambdin)

CHARLES WESLEY JARVIS

William Wallace Taylor Greenway

JOHN WESLEY JARVIS

Solomon Etting	Jonathan Meredith
Mrs. Solomon Etting	Robert Oliver
Jacob Hindman	Henry Thompson

JOHN R. JOHNSTON

Richard Sills

JOSHUA JOHNSTON

Family of James McCormick

MINOR B. KELLOGG

Greek Girl

CHARLES B. KING

John Stricker	Roger Brooke Taney
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FRANÇOIS JOSEPH KINSON

Madame Jerome Bonaparte

JUSTUS ENGELHARDT KÜHN

Eleanor Darnall	Mrs. Henry Darnall, II
Henry Darnall, I	Henry Darnall, III
Mrs. Henry Darnall, I	

GEORGE C. LAMBDIN

John Marshall (copy after Henry Inman)

JAMES R. LAMBDIN

Johann de Kalb (copy after Charles Willson Peale)
George Peabody

MICHAEL LATY

Charles Carroll of Carrollton	Samuel Smith (copy after Gilbert Stuart)
John Eager Howard (copy after Charles Willson Peale)	Otho Holland Williams

THOMAS LE CLEAR

Mrs. William Evans

GEORGE LINEN

Mrs. Thomas Stockett Alexander

HENRY G. McCANN

William Fell Giles	John Carroll Le Grand
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EDWARD McDOWELL

Brantz Mayer

FERMIN MASSOT

Madame Jerome Bonaparte

ALFRED J. MILLER

Anna Laetitia Coale	Mary Abigail Willing Coale
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JOHN NEAGLE

Mrs. George Henry Repold

CHARLES WILLSON PEALE

Daniel Bowly	Nathanael Greene (copy by Rembrandt Peale)
Samuel Chase	
Mrs. Samuel Chase and Daughters	John Eager Howard (copy by Michael Laty)
Mordecai Gist (copy by James K. Harley)	John Jay (see note under 102)
Mordecai Gist (copy by Luther Terry)	Johann de Kalb (copy by James K. Lambdin)

Thomas Mifflin (copy by Rembrandt Peale)	Henry Waggaman
John Paca	Washington and the Generals at Yorktown (see note under 211)
William Paca	William Washington (copy by Rembrandt Peale)
Nathaniel Ramsay (copy by Helen Colburn)	Otho Holland Williams (copy by Michael Laty)
William Smallwood (copy by James K. Harley)	Otho Holland Williams (copy by Sarah M. Peale)
Charles Thomson (copy by Rembrandt Peale?)	

JAMES PEALE

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George Michael Krebs	

REMBRANDT PEALE

George Armistead	Thomas Mifflin (copy after Charles Willson Peale)
Stephen Decatur	John Oliver (copy after Gilbert Stuart)
Maximilian Godefroy	Oliver Hazard Perry
Nathanael Greene (copy after Charles Willson Peale)	Charles Thomson (copy after Charles Willson Peale?)
John Jay (see note under 102)	Mrs. Benjamin Franklin Timothy
Isaac McKim	Nathan Towson
John McKim, Jr.	William Washington (copy after Charles Willson Peale)
Mrs. John McKim, Jr.	
Allan McLane	
Louis McLane	

SARAH M. PEALE

Edward Johnson Coale	Mrs. Perry Eccleston Noel
Conrad R. Fite	Mrs. Henry Thompson
Mrs. Conrad R. Fite	Henry Anthony Thompson
Mrs. George Michael Krebs	Mrs. Henry Anthony Thompson
Sheppard Church Leakin	Abel Parker Upshur
Fielding Lucas, Jr.	Otho Holland Williams (copy after Charles Willson Peale)
Mrs. Joseph Nicholson and Elizabeth Nicholson Noel (see note)	

THOMAS PEAT

Anthony Thompson

HARPER PENNINGTON

Robert Goodloe Harper	Adalbert John Volck
(copy after Robert Field)	

ROBERT EDGE PINE

Ann Lux Bowly

CHARLES PEALE POLK

Mrs. Isaac Hite and James	James Madison, Sr.
Madison Hite	Mrs. James Madison, Sr.
Samuel Johnston	

H. A. ROBEN

William Patrick Ryan

JOHN ROBERTSON

George Brown

THOMAS C. RUCKLE

Ennalls Martin, Jr.

Mrs. Ennalls Martin, Jr.

ARY SCHEFFER

General the Marquis de Lafayette (copy by unknown American artist)

SIR MARTIN ARCHER SHEE

Christopher Hughes, Jr.

GILBERT STUART

John Oliver (copy by Rembrandt Peale)	George Washington (copy by James House)
Samuel Smith (copy by Michael Laty)	George Washington (copy by Jane Stuart)
George Washington	George Washington (copy by unknown American artist)

JANE STUART

George Washington (copy after Gilbert Stuart)

THOMAS SULLY

Charles Calvert, 5th Lord Baltimore	Sarah Esther Hindman
Mary Abigail Willing Coale (copy by Alfred J. Miller)	William Patterson
	David M. Perine
	Mrs. Benjamin Williams

LUTHER TERRY

Mordecai Gist (copy after Charles Willson Peale)

JEREMIAH THEUS

Samuel Carne, M. D.

Mrs. Samuel Carne

PHILIP TILYARD

William Baker

Mrs. William Baker

JOHN TRUMBULL

Horatio Gates (see note under 62)

ATELIER OF ANTHONY VAN DYKE

Queen Henrietta Maria

SAMUEL L. WALDO

Jane Rebecca Griffith (see note under 85)

JAMES WATTLES

Benjamin I. Cohen
Michael Warner

Mrs. Michael Warner

GEORGE WILLIAM WEST

William Hammond Dorsey

Mrs. John Proud

WILLIAM E. WEST

Mrs. Robert Gilmor

Reverdy Johnson

EDWARD C. WILLMORE

Daniel Webster

JOHN WOLLASTON

Daniel Carroll

Mrs. Daniel Carroll and Daniel Carroll, II

JOSEPH WOOD

Benjamin I. Cohen
Samuel Etting

Nathanael Greene Maxwell or
William Maxwell

THOMAS WATERMAN WOOD

Mrs. Edward Johnson Coale
Benjamin I. Cohen, Jr.

Moses

UNATTRIBUTED PORTRAITS

George Wansey Andrews
David Barnum

Mrs. Andrew Buchanan

George W. Buckler

Jeremiah Chase and Richard
Chase

Miss Chase

Henry Daingerfield

Master Darnall

Archibald Dobbin

Empress Eugenie

Dr. Reverdy Ghiselin

Dr. Edward Yerbury Golds-
borough

Mrs. Edward Yerbury Golds-
borough

Israel Griffith

William Handy Griffith

Laura Jane Harris

Hall Harrison

General the Marquis de La-
fayette (2)

John Hazelhurst Boneval Latrobe

Robert Edward Lee

John Middleton Lovell

Haslett McKim

Mrs. William Duncan McKim (2)

Henry Myers

Napoleon III
Roger Nelson
Oliver Hazard Perry
Thomas M. Post
Thomas G. Pratt
Mrs. Thomas G. Pratt
William P. Preston
Mrs. Jacob Read
George Henry Repold
Mrs. Charles Ridgely
Azariah H. Simmons

Samuel Smith
James Hopewell Somerville
Mrs. Robert Miles Spiller
Mrs. Hugh Thompson
George Washington
Benjamin Williams
Mrs. Young
Unknown Lady (American)
Unknown Lady (European)
Unknown Man (American)
Unknown Child (American)

THE MARYLAND CANAL PROJECT—AN EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF MARY- LAND'S INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS

By WALTER S. SANDERLIN

The Maryland Canal project, to connect the city of Baltimore with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal by means of an artificial waterway, is one of the many all-but-forgotten episodes in Maryland history which were at one time or another the center of considerable public attention and discussion. In the early nineteenth century, when canals were held in high repute and railroads were still a novelty or at best a speculative venture, the proposal to cut a canal from Baltimore to the Potomac was seriously considered. The story of the canal project, however, is but part of the general history of Maryland's interest in internal improvements.

The interest of Maryland, and of its great commercial center, the city of Baltimore, in trade—particularly the trans-Appalachian trade—has been one of the constant factors in the history of the State during the national period. That interest found expression in the support of several internal improvement projects, such as the Potomac Company,¹ the Cumberland Road,² the Chesapeake

¹ The Potomac Company was chartered and organized, in 1784 and 1785, to improve the navigation of the Potomac River above tidewater by removing obstacles from the river bed and by cutting a series of short canals around the major falls of the river. It remained active until absorbed by the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company in 1828. The best account of the Potomac Company is Cora Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters in the Development of the Potomac Route to the West (Records of the Columbia Historical Society, XV, 1912)*, also printed separately (Washington, 1912). Rear Admiral Homer R. Stanford, *The Historic Potomac* (Princeton, 1940), is a short, readable account, apparently based largely upon Mrs. Bacon-Foster's study. John Pickell, *A New Chapter in the Early Life of Washington in Connection with the Narrative History of the Potomac Company* (New York, 1856), covers the period up to 1789 and several episodes thereafter. A brief synthesis of the earlier work, with some new material is given in Walter S. Sanderlin, "A History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal" (University of Maryland thesis), chapter ii.

² The National Pike, or Cumberland Road, was built by the federal government from Cumberland to Wheeling, and later extended by Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois

and Ohio Canal,³ and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.⁴ From the beginning the attention of the State was divided between the relative advantages of an all-land and an all-water route across the mountains to the Ohio and the Mississippi valleys. The most favorable course by which western trade could be brought to tide-water in Maryland was by way of the Potomac valley. To be sure, the Frederick-Hagerstown-Cumberland turnpike, which served as an extension of the Cumberland Road, followed a more direct, overland route. It could not, however, be expected to compete seriously with a railroad or canal *via* the Potomac. The economies of construction and transportation in the more gently sloping river valley insured the ultimate success of that route.

The dilemma which faced Baltimore, and to a lesser extent the State itself, in the early years of the nineteenth century was how best to utilize the natural advantages of the Potomac valley. Actually it was a two-fold problem: first, as to the relative advantages of land and water transportation—turnpike, railroad, or canal; and second, how to divert the trade that might develop *via* the Potomac route from the river ports of Georgetown and Alexandria to Baltimore. The latter phase of the problem concerned the State because of the indirect benefits which would arise from the development of a great commercial emporium within its own boundaries.

The first effort to utilize the advantages of the valley route was made towards the end of the eighteenth century. In 1784, Mary-

to Vandalia, Illinois. The standard works on the history of the road are: Thomas B. Searight, *The Old Pike* (Uniontown, Pa., 1894), and Archer B. Hulbert, *The Cumberland Road (Historic Highways of America, vol. X)* (Cleveland, 1904).

³ The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company was chartered between 1824 and 1826, and organized in 1828, to construct an artificial waterway from tidewater on the Potomac to the Ohio at Pittsburgh. It completed the canal only as far as Cumberland, and then not until 1850. The company went into bankruptcy in 1890, and was sold to the United States in 1938. Trade on the waterway had ceased early in 1924, and the ruins of the canal are now preserved as a historical monument. The only complete history of the canal is my "History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal." Other brief accounts covering part of the history of the waterway are: George W. Ward, *The Early Development of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Project* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XVII, Nos. 9, 10, 11), (Baltimore, 1899), and Archer B. Hulbert, *The Great American Canals (Historic Highways of America, vols. XIII and XIV)*, (Cleveland, 1905).

⁴ The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company was chartered and organized in 1827 to construct a railroad from Baltimore to the Ohio River *via* the shortest, practicable route. The best history of the railroad to date is Edward Hungerford, *The Story of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad* (2 vols., New York, 1928), which is for all purposes an official centennial history.

land and Virginia joined in chartering the Potomac Company and subscribing to a portion of its capital stock.⁵ Many prominent Marylanders took part in the organization and management of the company. Thomas Johnson, Thomas Lee, and others on the Maryland side of the Potomac valley played leading roles in company affairs. The Masons, Templemans, Foxalls, and other families of old Georgetown and the area later included in the District of Columbia were importantly represented. From Virginia came George Washington, Tobias Lear, and others equally notable.⁶

Baltimore interests had opposed State support of the proposed improvement of Potomac navigation, seeing no advantage to their city which might arise from that enterprise.⁷ On the contrary, they feared that the project, if successful, would seriously threaten Baltimore's commercial future and create strong competitors in Georgetown and Alexandria. At first this had been primarily an intra-state jealousy between the two Maryland ports, Baltimore and Georgetown. The inclusion of the latter in the new federal district removed it, the logical terminus for the Potomac trade route, from the jurisdiction of Maryland. Thus Baltimore was able to identify its own interests more closely with those of the State. Nevertheless, Maryland extended further aid to the Potomac Company from time to time until the total amount of financial assistance granted by the State exceeded \$150,000.⁸ The failure of the Potomac Company to develop a large amount of trade

⁵ Act of the General Assembly of Maryland, November Session, 1784; Act of the General Assembly of Virginia, October, 1784.

⁶ Proceedings of the President and Directors of the Potomac Company. The names of the president and directors of the company present at the meetings are listed before the minutes for each meeting. The same is true of the names of stockholders present at the Annual Meetings, recorded in the Proceedings of the Stockholders of the Potomac Company. These volumes, as well as other private papers of the Potomac Company and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, including letter books, manifests, correspondence, ledgers, pay rolls, official reports, legal papers, and many annual reports are all in manuscript form and are deposited in the Department of Interior Archives (National Archives, Washington, D. C.). They will be cited hereafter as Canal Papers.

⁷ Nathaniel W. Stephenson and Hilary Dunn, *George Washington* (2 vols., New York, 1940), II, 197, 211; Bacon-Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 133. See also the letter from James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, January 9, 1785, in Worthington C. Ford, ed., *The Writings of Washington* (14 vols., New York, 1889-1893), X, 415n-418n.

⁸ *Report of the Committee of the District of Columbia . . .*, May 3, 1822, 17th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Reports, Vol. II, No. 111, Appendix B1 and B(b), pp. 11 and 13.

from the west postponed the necessity of solving the twin problems connected with obtaining a share of the trans-montane trade for Maryland and for Baltimore. The Frederick road continued to channel a considerable amount of that business through the State to Baltimore.

In 1820, Virginia proposed an inspection of the improvements on the Potomac and invited Maryland to send an engineer to participate in the examination.⁹ The obvious failure of the Potomac Company to achieve the purposes for which it was organized and the threat to their share of the western trade embodied in the Erie Canal (then being constructed by the State of New York) prompted the Chesapeake Bay States to take definite steps to improve their competitive position. As an outgrowth of the examinations of Potomac Company works between 1820 and 1822 it was proposed to charter the Potomac Canal Company, to which the District cities, Maryland, and Virginia would contribute equal sums.¹⁰ This company, as its name indicates, was to construct an artificial waterway up the valley to Cumberland, and eventually across the mountains to the Ohio at Pittsburgh. The possibility of an effective independent canal *via* the Potomac to replace the unsatisfactory river navigation revived the question of Baltimore's share of the trade which the new canal would bring into the Bay area. Lacking an immediate answer, Baltimore interests resorted to obstruction tactics in the Maryland Assembly and successfully prevented favorable action on the application for approval of the charter for the new enterprise.¹¹

During the summer of 1823 agitation for the project on an

⁹ Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-43; Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Potomac Company (1820), entered in Proceedings of Directors, Journal B, 440-441, in Canal Papers; Answer of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company vs. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company*, *Maryland Reports*, 4 Gill and Johnson 19-20. Maryland readily agreed to the examination and sent Isaac Briggs to represent the State. Upon the untimely death of the Virginia engineer, Thomas Moore, Mr. Briggs completed the second survey and submitted the reports on behalf of both States. He agreed substantially with the conclusions of Moore after the first inspection. Report of the Engineer of Virginia *in re* a Canal to the Ohio, Potomac Company Correspondence, 1820, in Canal Papers; *Report of the Committee on Roads and Canals*, January 30, 1827, 19th Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, Reports, Vol. II, No. 90, Appendix 3, p. 35; Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-46.

¹⁰ Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Potomac Company (1823), entered in Proceedings of Directors, Journal C, 14-15, in Canal Papers; Answer of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, *loc. cit.*, 4 Gill and Johnson 21-22.

¹¹ Sanderlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43.

expanded basis continued. Great efforts were made to enlist federal and state support for the immediate construction of a canal all the way to Pittsburgh.¹² In Maryland the agitation concentrated on securing the help of the western counties to offset the influence of Baltimore representatives and their friends. The organization to carry out the enlarged project, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, was chartered by Virginia in 1824, and by Maryland and Congress in 1825.¹³ No longer, it seemed, could the question of ways and means to divert trade from the Potomac route be avoided.

There was little or no question concerning the first part of the two-fold problem confronting Maryland and Baltimore, i. e., the relative advantages of land and water transportation. It was generally assumed, then as now, that the latter was considerably cheaper, especially for bulky freight. One estimate, in 1822, placed the ratio of costs—freights, tolls, wages, maintenance, time, etc.—as high as eight to one in favor of water over land (turnpike) transportation.¹⁴ In line with this widely-accepted belief, Maryland urged and secured the adoption of an article in the charter of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company to permit the construction of branch canals from points on the main canal, and to allow the use of surplus water from the Potomac for such branches.¹⁵ The Assembly also incorporated the first Maryland

¹² Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Potomac Company (1823), Directors' Journal C, 15, in Canal Papers. The District cities were especially active, sending "agents to solicit and advance the plan with the two legislatures." Answer of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, *loc. cit.*, 4 Gill and Johnson 21. See also the memorials to Congress from inhabitants of the District of Columbia and neighboring states, in *Report of the Committee of the District of Columbia*, May 3, 1822, *loc. cit.*

¹³ Act of the General Assembly of Virginia, January 27, 1824; Act of the General Assembly of Maryland, December Session, 1824 (January 31, 1825); Act of Congress, approved March 3, 1825. Pennsylvania confirmed the charter on certain conditions, Act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, February 9, 1826. Again many Marylanders from all walks of life participated in the promotion of the canal project and helped in the formation of the company, including Gov. Joseph Kent, Frisby Tilghman, Philip E. Thomas, Roger Taney, George C. Washington, and others from Baltimore and from the river counties. Some later withdrew to promote the rival railroad project, but others remained staunch friends of the canal. The *Journal of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Conventions*, 1823 and 1826 (Washington, 1826), and the Canal Papers themselves indicate the widespread interest of Marylanders in the canal.

¹⁴ *Report of the Committee of the District of Columbia*, May 3, 1822, *loc. cit.*, p. 4, and Appendix G. See also Abner Lacock, *Great National Project* . . . (Washington, 1822), especially pp. 5-6.

¹⁵ By "surplus water" was meant all water from the Potomac river not needed by the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal for purposes of navigation.

Canal Company and ordered surveys made to determine the most favorable route for a canal from the proposed Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to Baltimore.¹⁶ There was general confidence that the advantages of Baltimore as a port were so great that it could easily compete with the District cities and divert a large part of the trade of the Chesapeake and Ohio by means of the cross-cut canal. But it was thought that to be economically attractive to shippers, the Maryland canal must branch off from the Chesapeake and Ohio far enough up the Potomac valley to make the overall distances to the competing ports about the same.

The surveyors reported, however, that they could find no practicable route for a canal in Montgomery County and presumably, therefore, not to the west of it.¹⁷ The decisive factor proved to be the lack of a sufficient supply of water to feed the summit level of the proposed waterway. The surveyors suggested that the highest point in the Potomac valley from which a canal might be constructed to the city of Baltimore would be by way of the Anacostia River, through the District of Columbia, to the east of Georgetown!¹⁸ The consternation with which the Baltimore merchants received the announcement may well be imagined. It was now too late to prevent the chartering of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company. Moreover, the Erie Canal was already completed and in operation all the way from the Hudson river to Lake Erie. Yet Baltimoreans were convinced that the Maryland Canal would not attract trade unless it were built from a point in the Potomac valley above Georgetown.

Baltimore officials called a mass meeting of citizens, on February 12 and 19, 1827, to take some action in the crisis which, they feared, threatened the commercial future if not the very existence of the city. Faced with the problem of constructing a waterless trade route to compete with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and

¹⁶ Opinion of Chief Justice Buchanan, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company vs. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company*, *loc. cit.*, 4 Gill and Johnson 155. The Assembly incorporated provisions chartering the Maryland Canal Company in the same act by which it authorized the subscription of \$500,000 to the stock of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company. In this way, the Assembly sought to avoid any opposition by the latter to the construction of the branch canal.

¹⁷ *Letter of the Secretary of War, J. Barbour, transmitting a Report of the Engineer on the Survey of a Route for the Proposed Canal to Connect the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal with Baltimore*, January 11, 1828, 20th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Documents, Vol. II, No. 58, pp. 6 and 8.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

aware of the inability of turnpikes to compete with canals, the meeting turned to a new means of transportation. It endorsed the project recommended by leading citizens, the construction of a rail road from Baltimore to the Ohio *via* the shortest practicable route. To accomplish this novel and daring venture, the assemblage approved the organization of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road Company.¹⁹ The railroad as a means of long distance transportation was still in an experimental stage in England and was almost unknown in America. Thus the project was distinctly a gamble, and the immensity of the risk was an indication of the desperation felt by Baltimore merchants.

The uncertainty and misgivings with which Baltimore viewed the railroad project were reflected in the interest with which it followed the progress of a second survey of possible routes for a canal to link the Chesapeake and Ohio with the Monumental City. Its citizens were by no means as confident of the success of their railroad as enthusiastic contemporary statements would have one believe. Certainly many thought it would do no harm to have surveys and plans for a canal in case the railroad experiment failed to live up to hopes. The new survey for the Maryland Canal was conducted by United States Engineer William Howard in 1827. After examining the field books of the earlier survey, Mr. Howard concluded that the findings were accurate and that there was no possible route through Montgomery county or to the west thereof. He concentrated his attention on a route from the Potomac *via* the Anacostia river. He ran his lines in a northeasterly direction to the east of the Washington-Baltimore turnpike, crossing the Patuxent to the Patapsco at Elkridge Landing. This course he found to be practicable, although at a cost of \$2,980,815.40, excluding land costs.²⁰ Both the location and the expense of the proposed connection were distasteful to Maryland and Baltimore, and the canal project was forthwith dropped.

But it was impossible for the canal proposal to remain inactive. The future of the railroad was too much in doubt, and the many interests behind the planned cross-cut canal were too restless to permit the undertaking to be abandoned completely. After the

¹⁹ Answer of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, *loc. cit.*, 4 Gill and Johnson 33-34.

²⁰ *Letter of the Secretary of War*, January 11, 1828, *loc. cit.*, pp. 6-7, 8 ff.

failure of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to secure court recognition of its claim to prior rights in the Potomac valley in 1832,²¹ interest in the Maryland Canal began to revive. It seemed that the Railroad would be blocked in the Potomac valley by the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, at least for a while. This possibility was made a certainty by the "Compromise of 1833." This agreement between the rival internal improvement companies, sponsored by the General Assembly of Maryland, stipulated that the westward construction of the railroad would stop at Harpers Ferry until 1840, or until the canal should reach Cumberland.²² In view of such prospects, the interest of the State and of Baltimore in both the Chesapeake and Ohio and the Maryland canals rose rapidly. At the same time they became increasingly reluctant to accept the results of the earlier surveys for the cross-cut canal as final.

In 1836, the Maryland Canal project burst into a new flurry of activity. The westward progress of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal was coming to a halt, the Railroad was still blocked at Harpers Ferry, and both were in need of more funds. The Assembly met in a special session in May, 1836, after refusing to grant further aid in its regular session. Advocates of internal improvements of all kinds met in Baltimore on May 2, 1836, just before the Legislature reconvened.²³ There they reaffirmed their faith in several railroad and canal projects in the State, among them the ill-fated Maryland Canal.

Shortly after the Assembly met, members interested in internal improvements introduced the famous Eight Million Dollar Bill, providing subscriptions to that amount to various railroad and canal companies. The majority of the committee to whom the bill was referred recommended the rejection of the measure. The report criticized the haste which characterized the framing of the bill and the lack of surveys and information upon which to base

²¹ Opinion of the Court, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company vs. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company*, loc. cit., 4 Gill and Johnson 71-164; Dissenting Opinion, *ibid.*, pp. 164-226. The decision was rendered by a three-to-two vote, with one justice absent.

²² Act of the General Assembly of Maryland, December Session, 1832 (March 22, 1833).

²³ "Journal of the Internal Improvement Convention (Baltimore, May 2, 1836)," *A Short History of the Public Debt of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1844), pp. 23-30. See also the "Address of the City of Baltimore to the People of Maryland, April 12, 1836," *ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 68-72.

appropriations.²⁴ This criticism applied particularly to the Maryland Canal project, for which no recent surveys had been made. Nevertheless the Assembly did not heed the recommendation of the committee. Instead, spurred on by the advocates of internal improvements led by Baltimore, it passed the bill.

Among the provisions of the act were clauses releasing the Baltimore and Ohio from the restrictions on its westward construction in the Potomac valley, and subscribing \$3,000,000 each to that railroad and to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. At the same time, it provided \$500,000 for the newly-chartered Maryland Canal Company and stipulated that the subscriptions to the two major companies should be withheld until the Maryland Canal Company had been formally organized with sufficient capital to insure the commencement of that long-delayed project.²⁵

The reasons for the revival of public interest in the cross-cut canal at this time are fairly obvious. There was at all times a group of people concerned primarily with the local advantages to be derived from the construction of the waterway. These were located in the areas through which possible routes for the connection lay. There were also many who were not yet convinced that railroads could compete successfully over a long period of years with canals. Still others held to the belief that the proposed Maryland Canal would eventually become profitable and would help the financial condition of the State. Finally by 1836 the canal project had become a convenient political device. The Eight Million Dollar Bill was designed to win the support of many representatives from all sections of the State, each for his own personal reason—to help this or that project, to aid State finances, to vote for what was represented to be the progressive side, etc.²⁶

²⁴ "Majority Report of the Joint Committee of Both Branches of the Legislature, appointed to Investigate the Subject of Internal Improvements," *ibid.*, pp. 34 and 38. As a matter of fact, there had been no survey at all for one route (*via Westminster*), and the engineers for both the earlier surveys of the other routes had agreed that they were impracticable.

²⁵ Act of the General Assembly of Maryland, June 4, 1836.

²⁶ The act was specifically identified with ways and means of improving the financial condition of the State; internal improvements were labeled progressive measures; and most sections of the State were interested in the various railroads and canals to be benefited by the subscriptions. The act provided three millions for the Baltimore and Ohio and the Chesapeake and Ohio, one million for the Eastern Shore railroad, and a half-million each for the Maryland Canal and Annapolis canal. See the Special Report on the Completion of the Canal (February, 1851),

To give effect to the new act, Baltimore citizens hastily met and organized the new Maryland Canal Company. Large amounts of capital were subscribed on two occasions, although later investigation showed that the same persons had made most of the subscriptions.²⁷ In general, interest, support and confidence in the project were small. Among the officers of the new company were James McCulloh, Charles F. Mayer, Samuel Jones, Jr., and William Krebs.²⁸ Representing as they did other interests, *e. g.*, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, they showed little concern for the progress of the Maryland Canal, but went through the motions of forming the company to satisfy the requirements of the Eight Million Dollar Bill. The Treasurer of the Western Shore duly certified the fact of the formal organization of the Company, whereupon the State released the subscriptions to the other companies. Having fulfilled its primary function, the Maryland Canal Company lapsed into inactivity and again disappeared from the scene.

Meanwhile other measures were afoot to bring about the realization of the proposed cross-cut canal. Following the organization of the Maryland Canal Company, the State appointed two engineers, Messrs. Fisk and Hughes,²⁹ to survey the three routes lying entirely within the boundaries of the State which were stipulated in the Act of 1836 as the ones from which a choice must be made in order to secure State support for the proposed cross-cut canal. The engineers reported in March, 1837, that all three routes—*via* Westminster, Monocacy-Linganore, and Seneca Creek—were impracticable because of an insufficient supply of water on the sum-

proceedings of the Stockholders of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, Journal D, 343-344, in Canal Papers. This report is also printed separately (Frederick, 1851).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 346-348; *A Short History of the Public Debt of Maryland*, pp. 44-46.

²⁸ *A Short History*, etc., pp. 44-45. The officers of the new company were: William Krebs, President; Daniel Cobb, Samuel Jones, James W. McCulloh, Charles Mayer, and Richard Caton, Directors. Despite the understanding that the canal should follow an all-Maryland route, the company adopted the course surveyed by William Howard (the only one found practicable on earlier examinations) through the District of Columbia. Special Report on the Completion of the Canal, *loc. cit.*, p. 346, in Canal Papers.

²⁹ C. B. Fisk was the Chief Engineer of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, having come up through the ranks of company engineers since 1828. G. W. Hughes was a graduate of the United States Military Academy, and was at this time the engineer of the new Maryland Canal Company. Special Report on the Completion of the Canal, *loc. cit.*, p. 347, in Canal Papers; John J. Abert, *Report in Reference to the Canal to Connect the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal with the City of Baltimore*, 1838 (reprinted, Washington, 1874), p. 6.

mit levels.³⁰ At the same time the city of Baltimore sponsored its own surveys in the interest of the Maryland Canal, appointing Isaac Trimble, an engineer experienced in the construction of railroads, to perform the task.³¹ Mr. Trimble reported in March, 1837, that in his judgment the route *via* Seneca Creek was practicable, and estimated the probable cost to be \$6,324,300.³²

Citizens of Montgomery County, through which the major part of the disputed Seneca route would lie, then intervened and, clutching at the straw of hope which the disagreement among the engineers provided, requested that a further effort be made to resolve the differences of opinion. They fully realized that both the County and its inhabitants would benefit from the canal, if constructed, for it would bring higher land values, trade, and occupations in the numerous activities related to the construction, operation, and maintenance of a canal. The Assembly re-examined the three engineers without success. All three reasserted their belief in the accuracy of their original reports.³³ Nevertheless, in March, 1838, the Legislature ordered the subscription to the Maryland Canal Company withheld unless the route finally chosen lay entirely within the State, and authorized the Governor to seek further assistance in the necessary surveys.³⁴

Governor Thomas Veazey thereupon requested that a United States engineer of established reputation be permitted to make an examination of the three routes. Colonel John J. Abert,³⁵ an engineer well acquainted with canals and with the Chesapeake and Ohio in particular, made the survey. In his report in December, 1838, he confirmed the findings of Messrs. Fisk and Hughes that all three routes were impracticable. At the same time he announced the discovery of another route from Seneca Creek *via* Brookville (slightly to the east of the other Seneca route) which he clearly demonstrated to have a sufficient supply of water

³⁰ Abert, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6; Special Report on the Completion of the Canal, *loc. cit.*, pp. 349-350, in Canal Papers. See also Charles B. Fisk and George W. Hughes, *Report on Surveys and Examinations for a Canal between Baltimore and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal* (n. p., 1837).

³¹ Mr. Trimble was also a graduate of the United States Military Academy, and had been for some time connected with railroad construction. Abert, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

³² Special Report on the Completion of the Canal, *loc. cit.*, pp. 349-350.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Col. Abert had made an inspection of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal as far as Seneca, in 1831. See the Report of Abert and Kearney in Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company Correspondence, 1831, in Canal Papers.

to feed the all-important summit level.³⁶ The Governor promptly requested the engineer to estimate the probable cost of this new route. In March, 1839, Col. Abert submitted an estimate of \$11,670,000 for the twenty-two mile summit level, an average of \$500,000 per mile.³⁷ This tremendous sum quickly put an end to all speculation on the construction of the Maryland Canal at that time. An investigation of the still-born Maryland Canal Company, in 1839, revealed the sordid details of the organization and demise of that enterprise.³⁸ Both Baltimore and the State turned their full attention to the railroad as the means by which to secure a fair share of the trans-montane trade.

Only twice during the ensuing years was the Maryland Canal project revived. Each time it was the result of the renewal of fears that the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal would prove to be too great a competitor for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and thus would attract a large share of the latter's business. To recapture the trade (particularly in coal) for Baltimore, it was proposed to construct a cross-cut canal to tap the Chesapeake and Ohio. The threat which the latter posed was never more than potential, but both the city of Baltimore and the railroad company were peculiarly sensitive to real or potential threats from their traditional rival.

In 1845, for example, the mere passage of an act to provide for the completion of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to Cumberland was sufficient cause for frenzied measures in Baltimore in behalf of the railroad. For four or five years after 1839 the City and its railroad successfully blocked all measures in the General Assembly to provide effective means for the completion of the canal.³⁹ The passage of an act in 1845 to permit the Canal Company to issue bonds (under certain conditions) to finance its own completion brought violent protests from city officials and drastic measures to prevent effective competition between the rival enterprises. A committee of the city council reported in part: ⁴⁰

³⁶ Abert, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

³⁷ Special Report on the Completion of the Canal, *loc. cit.*, p. 351, in Canal Papers. For the seventy mile canal the cost would have been \$37,131,850, two-thirds the value of assessed property in Baltimore City. *A Short History of the Public Debt of Maryland*, p. 46.

³⁸ Special Report on the Completion of the Canal, *loc. cit.*, p. 351, in Canal Papers.

³⁹ Sanderlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-179, and Appendix, Table IV.

⁴⁰ "Report on the Joint Special Committee, etc.," *A Short History of the Public*

Thus we see on all sides, the palpable evidence, that Baltimore is to be made to bear the burden, and that unless she rises up in her whole united strength, she will be crushed by that mountain of imposition which is constantly accumulating around her. Baltimore in point of fact is subject to taxation without representation. If she had been fairly represented in the Legislature of the State, the obnoxious laws complained of, never could have been passed! How was it with the Canal Bill and Stamp Act of the last session!—Both rejected,—then reconsidered, and passed by *one vote*—and that *one vote* given under such circumstances as to fix upon it the suspicion of foul corruption.

The City did not restrict itself merely to complaints.⁴¹

Meantime the corporation of Baltimore are actively engaged in measures which have a tendency to frustrate the objects of the canal company. An ordinance has passed both branches of the city council allowing the Baltimore and Ohio railroad company to run their locomotives into the city with coal, iron ore &c, and also to lay tracks to a new depot on the south of the basin, where vessels may lay free of port charges, and other expenses which they have heretofore been subjected to. The report of the committee of the councils to whom the subject was referred, suggested, that if it became expedient so to do, the railroad company might put the price of bringing down coal and iron to a mere nominal sum and defy competition.

It is not surprising, in view of the continued fear of canal competition, that the completion of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to Cumberland in October, 1850, preceded another revival of the Maryland Canal project.⁴² Many felt that because of the relative cheapness of canal transportation over rail, especially in the shipment of bulky freight, the valuable Cumberland coal trade would be lost to the District cities unless Baltimore were connected by a waterway with the Chesapeake and Ohio. Some argued that even a canal through the District of Columbia would be better than no canal at all.⁴³ By 1850, however, the railroad interests were so

Debt of Maryland, p. 84. Another observer took a less favorable view, severely criticizing the City and railroad officials for their conduct during and after the passage of the canal bill and stamp act.

"Not contented, however, with heaping their maledictions on the majority of the Legislature, they must also make an attack on an honest, able and virtuous Chief Magistrate, . . . Some have even had the audacity to accuse him of having effected the passage of the Canal and Stamp Bills by sheer bribery; . . ." *A Short History*, etc., p. 49.

⁴¹ *Niles Register*, LXVIII, No. 6 (April 12, 1845), 85.

⁴² Twenty-Third Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company (1851), Proceedings of Stockholders, D, 414, in *Canal Papers*; *Report of the Committee of the Baltimore City Council on the Cross-Cut Canal* (Baltimore, 1851), pp. 3-4.

⁴³ *Report of the Minority of the Joint Special Committee* . . . (Baltimore, 1851). General Robert G. Harper had expressed similar sentiments as early as 1824. See

thoroughly entrenched in Baltimore affairs that the proposal received slight notice.⁴⁴ Nevertheless all breathed more easily when recurring floods and political interference in the management of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company prevented it from becoming an effective competitor of the railroad during the 'fifties, even for the coal trade.⁴⁵ Agitation for the construction of the Maryland Canal subsided as the necessity for it disappeared.

After the Civil War, the situation began to change. The Canal weathered the worst of the political interference, and its physical condition began to improve as the result of repairs made during the post-war years. As its reliability as a carrier increased it became a better competitor for trade. It began to make considerable headway in the coal trade. So great was its success in the early seventies that proposals for its extension up the Potomac to the heart of the coal fields,⁴⁶ and over the mountains to the Ohio at Pittsburgh⁴⁷ were again considered. Once more the Maryland Canal project was revived. Baltimore was uneasy over the growing coal trade of the canal. Others in the State were thinking of the profitable occupations connected with canal operation. The dominant position of Arthur P. Gorman, the president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, in State political circles provided further support for the revival of the old Maryland Canal proposals. Prompted by the outburst of enthusiasm, the Legislature chartered a new company to construct the cross-cut canal, but it was never organized.⁴⁸ The depression in the coal trade in the latter part of the decade and the consequent decline in the prosperity of the Chesapeake and

General Harper's Speech, to the Citizens of Baltimore, on the Expediency of Promoting a Connection between the Ohio, at Pittsburgh, and the Waters of the Chesapeake at Baltimore, by a Canal Through the District of Columbia. Etc. (Baltimore, 1824).

⁴⁴ Letter of Thomas Swann, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, in *Report of the Committee of the Baltimore City Council on the Cross-Cut Canal*, pp. 5 ff. Also printed separately (Baltimore, 1851).

⁴⁵ Sanderlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-248.

⁴⁶ *Letter of the Secretary of War, Transmitting the Report of Engineer Merrill on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Extension*, March 2, 1876, 44th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Executive Documents, Vol. XII, No. 137, p. 31. *Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company* (Annapolis, 1875), p. 19.

⁴⁷ *Letter of the Secretary of War on the Extension of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal*, April 14, 1874, 43rd Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Executive Documents, Vol. XII, No. 208; and *Letter of the Secretary of War, etc.*, March 2, 1876, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁸ *Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company* (Annapolis, 1874), p. 24.

Ohio Canal again brought to an end all talk of a Maryland Canal. After this failure there were no further revivals.

The vicissitudes of the Maryland canal project provide a new insight into the commercial development of Baltimore in the critical middle years. Insofar as the growth of the Monumental City is typical of other coastal centers, the study is of general interest. Clearly indicated by the fluctuating fortunes of the canal proposal are the early struggles of the Baltimore merchants to establish their city's commercial position. For the successful accomplishment of this goal a fair share of the growing western trade was of utmost importance—as the substantial citizens of the city fully realized. It was to attract the produce of the Ohio valley that they considered the construction of the cross-cut canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, eventually adopting the latter project. The frequent revival of the canal proposal only emphasized their uncertainty over the relative competitive advantages of the waterway and the railway and their determination to overlook nothing in their efforts to promote the prosperity of their city.

It is perhaps only of academic interest to speculate upon the possible history of the canal had it been constructed. The waterway undoubtedly would have succumbed to the competition of the railway, even as the other canals did. Nevertheless, during its lifetime it would have greatly affected the daily life of many Marylanders along its route and probably would have raised property values in the region it served. It might have exercised a permanent influence on the economic development of the State through its effect on trade routes and its stimulus to local manufactures along its banks.

THE SENATE AND THE LADIES, 1850

By HOMER JOSEPH DODGE *

Women who have been elected to Congress and those who formerly have held seats today can be admitted to the floor of the Senate by courtesy and, in recess, as special guests but no more does the gallantry obtain which, for a short period, nearly a century ago, ushered bebies into the Senate Chamber as guests of that august assemblage. . . . There was a month in the cold winter of 1850 when the Senate Chamber was more crowded with hoopskirts than with credentials!

The record—which was privately kept and printed in those days before the establishment of the *Congressional Record*—is sketchy on the proceedings of February 6 but wholly explicit on February 7. At the opening of the Senate Willie P. Mangum, a Whig Senator of North Carolina . . . moved that ladies be admitted to the floor of the Senate under a suspension of the rules. He referred to the fact that, on the previous day, they had been present to hear the Senator from Kentucky, Henry Clay, begin his speech on the Missouri Compromise . . . Senator Mangum said:

Mr. President [Vice President Millard Fillmore] a young and gallant body like this, I suppose, will be ready to accord the privilege at once.

Senator Sam Houston of Texas, a man who had been President of the Republic of Texas as well as many other things, seconded the motion. The Vice President observed that unanimous consent would be required. Whereupon Senator Foote of Mississippi, . . . declared:

Mr. President, this motion addresses itself not only to the gallantry of the body but to its sense of justice. The ladies were admitted yesterday and participated in the intellectual banquet then spread for us. They were all dismissed before the feast closed and I insist upon it that, in sheer

* Reprinted from *The Gold Fish Bowl*, official publication of the National Press Club, Washington, D. C., Early Autumn Number, 1945, where it was published anonymously.

justice, they should be admitted to hear the continuation of the speech of the Senator from Kentucky.

The motion carried.

On February 8, Senator Foote moved to admit the ladies. Senator Seward of New York, who was to become President Lincoln's Secretary of State, seconded the motion. It carried and the ladies trooped in, hoopskirts and all, to hear Senator Houston, the man who had fought in the Creek War with Andrew Jackson, been adopted a member of the Cherokee tribe and become Governor of Tennessee, speak for two hours on the Missouri Compromise. . . At the conclusion of his address, Senator Foote moved a secret, executive session which, obviously, would bar the ladies. But Senator Seward intervened with a motion to adjourn, a motion which is not debatable. The Senator from New York apparently wanted to see the ladies home, while the Mississippi solon thought the Senate should attend to business—or at least more formal business. He asked for the yeas and nays. The Seward or Ladies' party won on the division but only by 20 to 19.

Once again on February 12 when the matter was due to come become the Senate, the body suspended the rules on Senator Foote's motion and Senator Berrien of Georgia, was heard. The same procedure was followed smoothly on February 13 but then came a dramatic change.

On this February 14, 1850, this feast of Saint Valentine, Senator Foote made his usual motion to suspend the rules to admit the ladies. But Senator Pearce of Maryland had, it appeared, been tried beyond his endurance. The 46-year-old Whig addressed the Chair:

Mr. President, there is a duty to be performed here which I should be glad to devolve upon some other and older Senator. But, really, Sir, the Senate is not a Court of Love and Beauty. Senators are not troubadores and minnesingers; and we have matters to deal with very different from those of romantic gallantry! The Senate has grave and weighty affairs to transact; and the transaction of them is not likely to be advanced, but to be checked and obstructed by the suspending of the rules of the Senate. The oratory of the Senate is very commanding; but it is utterly powerless when heard against that blaze of beauty with which the Senator from Mississippi delights to surround us! It falls upon unwilling ears and minds when opposed by that mute but potent eloquence which flashes from the eye of beauty—that

—Language by the virgin made,
Not heard, but felt; not uttered, but betrayed.

Sir, I desire to save the Senate from the dangers of this witchery—to avoid the artillery of Cupid with which of late we have been besieged! I confess myself to have been a victim; and taking counsel and courage from despair, I insist upon the protection which the rules of the Senate afford.

Whereupon Mr. Foote—who had fought four duels in the course of his career—addressed the Chair and said:

Mr. President, I hope the Senator will withdraw his objection in consideration of one fact. He has entirely forgotten to look into the galleries. If he had done so, he would have found that he would not be protected. Even if I withdraw my motion, the Senator will still be in the midst of dangers. I believe there are at least 60 ladies waiting to come in.

Mr. Clay (aside to Pearce):

Oh, give way.

Mr. Pearce:

I am not so much afraid of the influence of the ladies at that distance but I think I have reason to object to being brought into such close quarters.

So the motion to admit the ladies carried and the Senate listened for an hour and a half to Senator Foote's colleague, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, afterwards President of the Confederate States of America.

Other matters appear to have absorbed the Senate or, perhaps there had been an adjournment, for it is not until March 7 that the debate on the Missouri Compromise was resumed. The report of the *Congressional Globe* for that date begins its story by saying:

At an early hour this morning the Senate Chamber was completely occupied by ladies and such few gentlemen as had been able to obtain admittance, who had endured several hours' patient possession of seats and even of the floor, that they might hear the long expected speech of the Senator from Massachusetts.

It would appear that, like the camel which first had got only its head into the Arab's tent, Washington society had gradually inserted its whole body without awaiting the formality of a suspension of the rules. When the Senate was called to order, Senator Foote addressed the Chair:

Mr. President, I move that the ladies be permitted to occupy the floor—which they are now doing.

The Vice President:

The Senator from Mississippi moves that the ladies be permitted to occupy the floor. This motion requires unanimous consent.

Now, for the first time in the debate, is heard the voice of Jeremiah Clemens, a Senator from Alabama. . . .

Mr. President, would it not be well enough to make the Sergeant-at-Arms clear the gallery of its male occupants so as to allow the ladies to occupy it, as we then could act with more comfort? Somebody must be put to inconvenience—either the Senate or the ladies (which I do not desire) or the male occupants.

Mr. Foote:

I would suggest to the honorable Senator that he should not make the innocent responsible. The ladies are never disorderly and I do not see why they should be made responsible for the disorderly conduct of our sex.

While the *Congressional Globe* does not say so, this context would suggest that there had been foot-stamping, the mouthing of partisan slogans and other disorder. But the motion of Senator Foote carried . . . And so, for the last time, ladies were admitted to the Senate floor and heard Daniel Webster begin his historic address.

Mr. President, the imprisoned winds are loose. The East, the West, the North and the stormy South all combine to throw the whole ocean into commotion, to toss its billows to the skies and to disclose its profoundest depths. . . . I speak today for the preservation of the Union!

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Perilous Fight, Being a Little Known and Much Abused Chapter of Our National History in Our Second War of Independence and a True Narrative of the Battle of Godly Wood and the Attack on Fort McHenry More Suitably Described as the Battle of Baltimore. . . .
By NEIL H. SWANSON. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1945.
xiii, 555 pp. \$3.50.

The name selected by Mr. Swanson for his latest book is taken from the third line in the first stanza of the Star Spangled Banner. In his foreword he says it is an attempt to place the birth of the National Anthem in its actual setting of events. His conception of the setting requires a canvas broad enough for an account of the British invasion of Maryland in 1814 in which he uncovers a national hero whom he calls America's really forgotten man, Major General Samuel Smith.

The author has been called by a competent authority a historical novelist, a title earned on the strength of such well known works as *The Judas Tree*, *The Phantom Emperor* and *The Silent Drum*. But Mr. Swanson is much more than a writer of historical novels. He is managing editor of the Baltimore *Sun Papers* and vice-president of the A. S. Abell Publishing Company. Born in Minnesota, he saw combat service in the first World War in France and received his discharge in the rank of captain. His connection with the *Sun Papers* began in 1930 and shortly thereafter he evinced his interest in the War of 1812 by the publication of *The Flag was Still There*. Offered as fiction, it nevertheless foreshadowed *The Perilous Fight*.

In his introduction to the *Phantom Emperor* the author says "This story is not all fiction." It is not as a writer of fiction but as a historian that Mr. Swanson makes a bid in *The Perilous Fight*. Yet of it he might have said "This story is not all history" for into it fiction is charmingly woven. The historical features are supported by a lengthy documentation which bears testimony to the author's diligent and extended research, resulting in the incorporation in the text of much new material. The fiction is that of a gifted writer with a keen feeling for the dramatic and a strong urge to use it.

If putting flesh on the bones of the dead and blood in their bodies will encourage the reading of history, no exception may be taken to mixing fiction with fact, provided the reader understands where the one ends and the other begins.

It is, however, with the historical aspects of the book that this review is concerned. After it has been read and put on the shelf, as must happen to all books, including the best sellers, what estimate will be put upon it as a historical document? It is a challenging book, one which the writer declares to be "an attempt to describe those events [with which it deals] exactly as they occurred without distortions and omissions, the braggings and apologies and half-truths and the carelessly perpetuated errors that have blurred them."

Embellished with illustrations and numerous well-drawn maps, it is to be regretted that the book's usefulness as a history is impaired by the failure of the author to include a bibliography and an index. In the notes in many instances the data requisite to place his authorities are lacking, and the omission both in the text and the notes of recognized sources is surprising.

An outstanding instance of this is Mr. Swanson's conception of the British invasion. He leaves the reader under the impression that the capture of Washington and Baltimore had been planned in London and, although not in the book but in an article written for the *Baltimore Sunday Sun* of December 30, 1945, he considers the invasion part of a campaign to split the United States and to set up a buffer state designed to block its growth forever. This, he holds, was frustrated by the successful defense of Baltimore under the leadership of General Smith. Such a conclusion can only be reached by ignoring the Wellington Dispatches and the correspondence between Admiral Cochrane and Lord Bathurst, between Cochrane and Cockburn and Sir George Prevost and Cochrane prior to Cochrane's arrival in the Chesapeake, as well as the reports of Cochrane and his letters to Bathurst and the Admiralty after the capture of Washington, to say nothing of narratives of Sir Harry Smith and Sir James Scott. This material, to which the author does not refer, makes it clear, first that the decision to move against Washington was only made by Ross and Cockburn after the conference between them at Upper Marlboro on August 22nd and that the so-called "demonstration against the City of Baltimore" involved a change in plans to leave the Chesapeake for the New England coast that had been made by Cochrane after the capture of Washington; and second that the expedition to the Chesapeake was essentially punitive, with Washington, Baltimore, Annapolis and Philadelphia as possible objectives only, and did not contemplate the seizure and occupancy of any territory.

The first part of the book, approximately one-third, is taken up with the events which culminated in the Battle of Bladensburg and the capture of Washington. The rest is devoted to the defense of Baltimore, in which the battle of North Point, the bombardment of Ft. McHenry and the role played by General Smith are the highlights.

1. BLADENSBURG

One takes up the author's account of Bladensburg curious to discover what he has found to add to the accounts of that engagement given by

Brackenridge, Williams and Ingraham. It becomes apparent immediately that the writer has a mission, namely to rescue the American troops from the opprobrium heaped upon them because of their alleged refusal to stand up and fight. Mr. Swanson's thesis is that it was not a refusal to fight but the failure of General Winder ("Will Winder" to him) to give them an opportunity to fight.

In the events leading up to Bladensburg, and particularly in the failure of the Administration to realize the peril of Washington and to cooperate with Winder in his efforts to prepare for its defense, Winder's difficulties are fully recognized, and the author clearly shows that the charge made by Henry Adams that everyone but Winder understood that the British would attack through Bladensburg, is as utterly false as other statements made by that writer, but he brings a new charge against that luckless officer. "Will" Winder, he says, was a gentleman before he was a general, meaning thereby that Winder knew the obligations of both, and yet he accuses him of having falsified his statement made to the Congressional Committee inquiring into the capture of Washington.

In his statement Winder says he gave the order to Gen. Walter Smith commanding the Washington troops to retreat because his left wing was in danger of being enveloped by the British (under Brook). The author does not claim with General Wilkinson that the order was a tactical mistake and at least open to discussion but declares that Winder did not give the order for the reasons alleged by him. In this Mr. Swanson is in direct conflict with no less an authority than one of General Smith's officers, Major John S. Williams, and with all other writers with whom this reviewer is familiar. Moreover, while he emphasizes the "tears and imprecations" of Smith's command when ordered by Winder to retreat to Georgetown, he fails to mention that this order was only given after Smith had withdrawn first to a point beyond the turnpike gate and afterwards to the Capitol grounds where a conference took place among Armstrong, Monroe and Winder as to the advisability of Smith's there awaiting an assault by the oncoming British, or of retreating to Georgetown.

Instead of two battles fought at Bladensburg as claimed by other writers, Mr. Swanson finds that there were three and that Winder shares with James Monroe, Madison's Secretary of State, the responsibility for the loss of the first two and is wholly responsible for the loss of the third. No mention is made of the Court of Inquiry demanded by Winder after the publication of the Report of the Congressional Committee, which, headed by General Winfield Scott, reviewed the tactics employed by Winder in handling the crises that he was called upon to face when Stansbury's troops became panic stricken and fled the field of battle, nor that the verdict of the court of inquiry was favorable to Winder on all points.

The author does not mention Cochrane's reason for sending Gordon's squadron up the Potomac and declares it to have been a mission of no importance. He fails to appreciate the bearing it had on the strategic moves of the American forces after the enemy landed at Benedict, influenced as they were by the belief that Gordon's ships carried a large

number of troops and that a junction of Ross and Cockburn with Gordon's fleet on the shores of the Potomac might well be involved in the British strategy. Nor is any mention made of Winder's letter to Armstrong advising that Gordon's ascent of the Potomac be blocked by sinking vessels in that river.

In the absence of defensive works offering the American forces some measure of protection as at New Orleans, it is highly improbable that the action at Bladensburg would have been decided in their favor had they been led by Andrew Jackson himself. No fairer judgment has even been passed on Bladensburg than by Col. Joseph Sterett, who commanded the Fifth Regiment in that action and who witnessed the panic that swept it from the field: "The fall of the capital must be ascribed chiefly to insufficiency in point of numbers and total inadequacy in point of discipline of the troops assembled for the defense. No general, however great his talent or exertion, with such means against a foe, could save it."

General Winder, after receiving his discharge from the Army in June, 1815, resumed the practice of law in Baltimore, and when he died in his fiftieth year he was the leader of the Bar in Maryland and one of the recognized leaders in his profession in the nation. His place in the affections of the citizens of Baltimore was attested at his funeral which in its elaborate military and civic displays has never been exceeded in the annals of that city.

Maps—The author furnishes an excellent map of the battlefield of Bladensburg. A comparison discloses a close similarity to Wilkinson's map but it is an improvement on his both in detail and in clarity. He also has two small original maps that are extremely helpful in understanding the disposition of Stansbury's troops before and after it was disturbed by Monroe. The map facing the front cover of the book leaves much to be desired. It does not show the approaches to Washington by way of Benedict, Port Tobacco and Piscataway, the roads which connected Annapolis with Upper Marlboro and the Potomac River, nor the so-called River Road by which the British entered Bladensburg and which ran from that place to the ferry on the Potomac, nor does it show the location of Gordon's squadron in the Potomac on the date in question, viz., August 22nd—all of which had an important bearing on the strategy of the American commander.

It is when Mr. Swanson, the novelist, impelled by the dramatic aspects of the incidents set down by Mr. Swanson, the historian, seizes the pen and takes over the writing that the book speaks with authority that cannot be challenged. Nowhere else in print will be found a more stirring portrayal of what a G. I. thinks about when going into action than in the pages devoted to the charge of the 5th Regiment at Bladensburg. Passing over the fact that officers on the field called it an "advance" and that the terms "advance" and "charge" are not interchangeable, it nevertheless remains that no one except a man who had himself been in combat could have written with so much feeling. The same flair for the dramatic leads Mr. Swanson to introduce conversations in his narrative and to make

Francis Scott Key a figure at Bladensburg in a role which, in fact, he never filled.

II. THE DEFENCE OF BALTIMORE

This part of Mr. Swanson's book is not only a full and well written account of the measures taken to frustrate the plans of the British, but it affords an excellent biographical sketch of Smith's youth and training for business and his service in the Continental Army, based on material contributed to the *Historical Magazine* (of Boston) by his son, John Spear Smith, when he was president of the Maryland Historical Society.

There is nothing controversial about North Point and Fort McHenry. The facts relating to both are well understood and generally agreed upon, but as with Bladensburg Mr. Swanson has a thesis. It is that the historians have not appreciated their importance; that they must be regarded, first as not having merely prevented the capture of Baltimore but as having averted a national disaster; secondly and chiefly that in General Smith is found a combination of military genius and mercantile shrewdness that brought about the frustration of the enemy's plans, and that Smith is an unrecognized national hero of the stature of Andrew Jackson; and thirdly that they had an effect upon the peace negotiations in progress at Ghent profoundly favorable to us.

The author's view that the attack on Baltimore was part of a plan to divide the U. S. has been examined. Something additional will be said further on. It may be conceded that General Smith has not been given the credit he is entitled to for his services in defense of Baltimore, but to make that concession is far from being in agreement with the figure that emerges under Mr. Swanson's skillful pen. The delightfully told story of the visit of Colonel Howard and his committee to "Montebello" to request Smith to take over the command at Baltimore is fiction, and in the chapter, the "Struggle for Command," the statement that Smith assumed command over the three naval heroes, Rodgers, Porter and Perry, is erroneous. Neither Porter nor Perry had a command engaged in the defense of Baltimore. Rodgers did have a command but it was separate and distinct from Smith's. He acted under orders of the Secretary of the Navy and his position with relation to Smith was similar to that of Barney with relation to Winder at Bladensburg. Smith is portrayed as displaying great intrepidity in taking over the command at Baltimore, thereby running the risk of being courtmartialled or punished for insubordination. It is difficult to concede that Smith was in danger on either count. He was a major general of militia called into service by the Governor of Maryland. No lawyer in Maryland was more familiar with the militia law than layman Smith. This is clearly shown in a letter which he wrote to General Winder on the subject. The only question at issue between him and General Winder was whether a major general of militia outranked a brigadier general of the regular army and as the regulations clearly provided that he did, the point left to be settled was the territorial limits of Smith's command. Outside these limits Winder functioned as commander of the 10th Military District which included Maryland and the District of Columbia and that part of

Virginia lying between the Potomac and the Rappahannock Rivers. On the answer to the question hung not only the range of military authority but grave and confusing conflicts in administrative details, such as the feeding and payment of troops and the expiration of enlistments. Winder's correspondence with Monroe discloses an insistence upon the clarification of these issues and the writer's harsh criticism of Winder appears unjust.

"Historians" says Mr. Swanson, "should not pretend to be mind readers." Yet many pages of soliloquy by Smith are given, and many more pages record just what passed through his mind as he considered problems of defense, such as where the enemy would make his beachhead. Smith's solution is set down as an instance of his combined military and business capacity, although one may wonder where else than North Point the British could have landed without putting the Patapsco River between them and the City.

The author's contention that the British failure at Baltimore together with the smashing defeat at Plattsburg led to a revision of their peace demands and brought about the treaty at Ghent lacks sufficient support. The letters that passed between the members of the British ministry and those written between them and the Duke of Wellington tell a different story. Nor can support for such a claim be found in the diary and the letters of John Quincy Adams. He wrote that he considered the capture of Washington as well calculated to unite the nation and strengthen its war effort. As to Baltimore, he wrote that the defeat of the British was little more to be proud of than the demonstrations against it afforded the enemy.

The defeat at Plattsburg instead of weakening the British will to war, he wrote, had greatly strengthened it. It was Wellington who made the demand of *uti possidetis* look ridiculous and who was chiefly responsible for its abandonment on November 27th by the British as a peace condition. What made peace with the United States desirable was given in a letter from Lord Liverpool to Castlereagh on November 28th as follows: First, the state of negotiations at Vienna; second, the alarming situation in the interior of France, and, third, the serious state of British finances.

According to the author, the abandonment by the British Commissioners of the humiliating claims made in their original note was coincidental with the receipt at Ghent of news of the British reverses at Baltimore and Plattsburg. This is a mistake. The projects for armed navigation of the Great Lakes and the so-called Indian buffer state were withdrawn before Plattsburg and Baltimore were fought and the impressment of seamen and search and seizure of our vessels had become dead issues following the cessation of hostilities on the continent of Europe. When the information as to Baltimore and Plattsburg reached Ghent on October 21st the navigation of the Mississippi, the fisheries and *uti possidetis* were about all that remained to be negotiated.

North Point—The story of North Point fills 201 pages. What might prove technical and dull to the average reader is illumined by the author's skill in providing conversation and soliloquy. In the death of Ross there

is too much drama to be passed over. The story of Wells and McComas, now generally discredited and described by Marine as a family tradition, is given a factual setting carrying it back to Bladensburg.

On Tuesday, the 13th, the British are placed well to the northeast of Baltimore and across the Belair Road. It is, of course, well established that elements were in such a location and we have the statement of Mrs. Hollins, daughter of Col. Sterett, that they occupied "Furley Hall," the Bowley home, which was beyond Herring Run and west of the Philadelphia Road, but that the British Army was in the location shown on the map, page 449, can only be a surmise.

In speculating as to a communication between Brook (whose name he spells Brooke) and Cochrane, the author ignores the statement made by Sir James Scott that he carried the message from Brook to Cochrane, disclosing Brook's plans for the night attack and Cochrane's instruction as to them. The author incorporates the records of the British regiments engaged at North Point and Bladensburg, giving emphasis to the seasoned troops Stricker's militia were pitted against.

Fort McHenry—Fort McHenry is covered more fully than has been done heretofore. The author has made researches that enable him to give full and valuable information as to the rockets and bombs which were rained on the Fort and to disclose with the aid of drawings and illustrations by Mr. Stees the construction and rig of the bomb ketches and rocket ships in Cochrane's attacking squadron. His description of the assault by the force from Cochrane's ships on the night of the 13th and his account of the disposition of Armistead's forces outside the Fort and the dispositions of Rodgers' command are full and accurate. In his description of the bombs it is to be regretted that he failed to direct attention to the gigantic bomb in the museum at Ft. McHenry and to the smaller ones in the basement of the Maryland Historical Society.

No new light is shed on the writing of the National Anthem. There is no allusion to Judge Delaplaine's *Life of Francis Scott Key*, in which is told for the first time the circumstances attending the selection of Key for the mission to the British fleet in Dr. Beane's behalf. It may be mentioned in passing that the correct reading of the line in the National Anthem is "Bomb bursting in air," and not as generally written "Bombs bursting in air."

The book closes with Smith still in command and the soldiers carousing and singing the Star Spangled Banner.

In apportioning the credit for the successful defense of Baltimore Mr. Swanson overlooks the parts played by Rodgers and Armistead. It was Cochrane's failure to reduce Ft. McHenry and to penetrate the defenses of the harbor that accounts for the withdrawal of Brook during the night of the 13th and early morning of the 14th of September. It was the skill of Rodgers in obstructing the entrance to the harbor and the navigation of the Ferry Branch and to the intrepidity of his men manning the Lazaretto and the barges ranged across the entrance of the inner harbor and to the steadiness of his men under Webster and Newcomb in the forts on the

Ferry Branch that helped to make Cochrane's attack a failure. But above all and chiefly it was the heroism of Armistead and his men, who never faltered under the rain of bombs and rockets to which they were subjected, that contributed to the outcome.

The men whom the citizens of Baltimore and Maryland decided conspicuously to honor were Rodgers, Armistead and Webster, and not Smith who had never been under fire. The significance of this decision is found in the fact that it was contemporaneous with the activities in which these men had been engaged, and when they still could have been the talk of the town.

The reason set down by both Cochrane and Brook for a failure to press the attack is not given. Cochrane reported that he could not hazard serious injury to the ships of his fleet because they were committed to the New Orleans campaign, while Brook said that he could not risk depletion of his forces which an assault on the defenses of Hampstead Hill would have involved for the same reason. This furnishes additional proof, if any were required, that the British forces that invaded Maryland were ear-marked for the New Orleans campaign before the attack on Baltimore, an attack which was solely punitive in character and no part of the plan to seize and occupy territory or to engage in an enterprise having as its object the division of the United States.

Maps—The author furnishes four well drawn and extremely helpful maps. One shows the line of battle at North Point and the other three his conception of the movement of the British forces on September 13th. The map appearing on the inside of the back cover and the facing fly-leaf is inferior to the so-called Winder map which shows the defense works on the city's eastern limits in a different location from that shown on any of the author's maps. Having been completed a few years after the war the Winder map should be considered as reliable. Reference in a note is made to "contemporaneous maps," but they are not identified.

Notes—Many of the references to sources fail to furnish the data necessary to enable the reader or the student to consult them and in one instance no reference is given at all, namely the correspondence between Winder and Monroe in Chapter 12.

RALPH ROBINSON

Archives of Maryland, LXI. Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1766-1768. [Assembly series, vol. 29.] Edited by J. HALL PLEASANTS. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1944. cviii, 616 pp. \$3.00.

The sixty-first volume of the *Archives of Maryland* is excellent. Here once more the student will find textual completeness, good clear print, a satisfying format, an appendix containing wisely selected correlative documents, and a generous index. If there is a better way to open avenues for

historical studies of a state's past, no other state has discovered it, and the reviewer does not know what it is.

The present volume, the twenty-ninth in the assembly series, brings us within six years of the end of the history of the provincial assembly, and within less than seven of the outbreak of the Revolution. The sessions of 1766, 1767, and 1768, just after the Stamp Act and during an interval of relaxed tensions and of realignment in the internal affairs of Maryland, are unusually interesting. The close student will note that, even in this exceptional period, when the measure of argument and irritation between the lord proprietor and the House of Delegates diminished, the reduction did not alter their traditional relationship of conflict in principle and of struggle for power. Nothing within the premises of Maryland's provincial institutions and ideas could lessen the fundamental difference of tenets and attitudes, sharply defined since 1739, between the Parliamentary principles of the House of Delegates and the proprietary and authoritarian presumptions of Lord Baltimore and his appointees to high office.

The question of colonial self-government or authoritarian control is undoubtedly the central one of the whole assembly series, and the question approaches its historic climax in the years of this volume. On the other hand, the assembly record itself indicates that this theme was not the only theme of legislative history, and, still more plainly, that it does not tell the whole story of Maryland's eighteenth-century development. The assembly, even when frustrated in its effort to make good its constitutional claims and principles, did act on many important matters. It passed laws to promote town-growth, especially in the case of Baltimore; and it heard about, and legislated on, matters of Indian affairs, the established church, poverty and relief, and, yes, "fish conservation." This volume will be indispensable to any social historian, who, following some of the newer directions of Clio, wishes to investigate the common life of the people of Maryland.

One fact about the *Archives* at this stage, the pages of volume LXI themselves do not yield. This is the last volume which Dr. J. Hall Pleasants will edit. He has done sixteen volumes. During his term the "letter of transmittal," which presents the manuscript volumes of the *Archives* to the Maryland Historical Society from its Publications Committee, has grown from a slight and formal thing to an ample learned preface to all that follows. And in recent years Dr. Pleasants' (unsigned) introductions to the assembly series volumes (in this case ninety pages) have come to be detailed legislative histories such as only long familiarity and rare knowledge could produce. Here is one of the quiet, unrecognized, services of scholarship. Dr. Pleasants' clarification and illumination of the bulky and intricate documentary record is history for research historians, rather than reading for a sizeable public. But these quiet services indicate a great editor. He has set standards for Maryland editors to carry on, and for others to follow, as best they can.

CHARLES A. BARKER.

The Johns Hopkins University.

The History of the State of Ohio. Edited by CARL WITTKE. Published under the Auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, in six volumes. Columbus, Ohio: 1941-1944. \$25.00. Vol. IV. *The Civil War Era, 1850-1873.* By EUGENE H. ROSENBOOM . . . 1944. 559 pp.

The publication of the fourth volume of this monumental history marks the successful completion of a major project in the historiography of an individual state of the Union. Volumes V and VI bringing the story of Ohio down to 1938 were published prior to the issue of the volume reviewed below. The titles and authors of the other volumes in this notable collaborative enterprise were: I, *The Foundations of Ohio*, by Beverley W. Bond, Jr.; II *The Frontier State: 1803-1825*, by William T. Utter; III, *The Passing of the Frontier: 1825-1850*, by Francis P. Weisenberger; V, *Ohio Comes of Age: 1873-1800*, by Philip D. Jordan; VI, *Ohio in the Twentieth Century: 1900-1938*, by various contributors under the editorship of Harlow Lindley.

Our sister society in Ohio is to be congratulated on the accomplishment of a large scale project in scholarship. The work is well printed, illustrated and bound. It may be assumed that it will answer all needs for a general history of the State for many years to come. The project had the official authorization of the State legislature—J. W. F.

Appearing in the midst of World War II, this volume tells the story of Ohio immediately before and after the War between the States. The earlier chapters present in detail the life of the people while the last section deals mainly with matters political. In between comparatively little space is given to war activities, for the sectional conflict touched Ohio but little.

The first section of the volume is intriguing in that it contains certain departures from the customary historical treatment, since in recounting the things that concern the people, space is given to detailed accounts of antebellum sports; in fact, this history of Ohio is possibly unique in recounting not only popular interest in the beginnings of baseball but also in presenting a complete box score of a game played in 1870 between the "Red Stockings" of Cincinnati and the "Harvards," which the author acclaims as the "champion university team" of that time; and it seems clear that the Red stockings—whose photos in toto appear—were then the best team in the nation. The top salary was \$1,400.00 which may be compared, or rather contrasted, with the \$80,000.00 paid Maryland's "Babe" Ruth a half century later.

At about the same period the invention and use of the McCormick reaper is described, and here the author might well have introduced the story of the transportation of the first reapers to reach Cincinnati. These, prior to their manufacture in Chicago, were carted over Virginia roads

to the James river and thence through the Chesapeake Bay, the Atlantic Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico, and up the Mississippi and Ohio.

The beginnings of Ohio's higher educational institutions include contemporary apology that if \$40.00 seemed too high a price for one winter's lectures in the first agricultural college of the State, that amount might be made to cover two winter courses. Stranger still was the status of Wilberforce University for Negroes, which, after seven years, "consisted of six pupils in primary English studies" with a "faculty of one man."

The hazards of travel should interest some statistician to present a per capita comparison between the 550 railroad casualties for 1872 and the per annum automobile accidents of today.

The volume shows ample evidence of much patient research; and although it hardly constitutes "popular" reading, there are many such items of general interest as the above that tend to lighten a presentation which, much to the irritation of historians, is deprecated as "pedestrian."

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS

The Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies. By ELLA LONN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945. 438 pp. \$5.00.

If, as she notes in her preface, Miss Lonn departed from her chosen specialty in the writing of her latest work, the diversion is a welcome one in the field of colonial history. For the record of the colonial agent, accomplished factotum, has long deserved compilation and specific treatment hitherto denied him in American colonial history except for J. J. Burns, *The Colonial Agent in New England*, published in 1935.

In her scholarly and well documented work, the author discusses among other phases of her subject, the genesis of the agent, the development of the regular, as distinguished from the special agency, the duties of the agent, the agent at work, and his successes and failures.

Situated, as so often he was, in the center of a triangle with points representing the British trade and colonial boards, the prejudices of the Assemblies and the varying moods of the people, the agent's lot was seldom happy. Small wonder that, after presenting a wealth of material, Miss Lonn concludes the agency to have been on the whole an ineffective institution. She discusses, too, the more intangible facets of the agent's career; and these, this reviewer at least, wishes the author had probed more deeply for it is in these intangibles, as Miss Lonn indicates, that the colonists' use of agents can best be justified. This is not unfavorable comment for the work is primarily factual and well rounded. But one wonders if the material does not exist from which interesting speculation and discussion might not be drawn on phases of the agent's work which Miss Lonn in keeping with the nature of her work covers but briefly: the value of the agent's services as a medium of communication between the peoples of the colonies and of Britain; the results of the agent's com-

promises, and his preventive value where legislation harmful to the colonies was planned.

In one of the appendices, a list of agents by colonies includes those from Maryland. Leonard Strong is accounted the colony's first agent. He was dispatched to England in early 1655 by the Puritans to forestall the reports of the St. Mary's group regarding the Protestant revolt. The terms of eight other Maryland agents are discussed at varying lengths before reaching the colony's last effective agent, Charles Garth, who also acted for Georgia and South Carolina. A remarkable man with a long career as agent, Garth was prominent in the struggle to repeal the Stamp Act.

The author concludes, in spite of the singularly difficult position of these liaison officers, that most agents maintained loyalty to both British and colonial governments. Clearly they recognized the difference of interests between Britain and her colonies. Nevertheless, although the agent might see the issues and consequently fear for the Empire, he could not force clarity of vision upon the men who were then directing British destiny.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

American Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of American Diaries Written Prior to the Year 1861. Compiled by WILLIAM MATTHEWS with the assistance of ROY HARVEY PEARCE. (University of California Publications in English, Vol. XVI, 1945.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1945. 383 pp. \$4.00.

Historians and amateur students of history have long recognized the value of diaries as sources for our knowledge of the past. While thousands of diaries (Mr. Matthews lists four thousand) have been reprinted in recent years, the labor of seeking them out in obscure periodicals and little known publications has militated against their usefulness. The present volume accomplishes the gargantuan task of marshalling these diaries in order of their dates and their authors, and of describing each one briefly and critically. Mr. Matthews limits himself to those documents which are a "day-by-day record of what interested the diarist, each day's record being self-contained and written shortly after the events occurred, the style being usually free from organized exposition," and which have been published in English. Within these limits the bibliography is admirable as far as Maryland material is concerned, the reviewer having found but one omission, "The Diary of M. Ambler" (*Virginia Magazine of History*, XLV, 1937, pp. 152-170). One may question, however, the inclusion of *The Journal of Latrobe* for this is quite evidently an "organized exposition" written some time after the events and not a "day-by-day record." Similarly, Johnn David Schoepf's *Travels in the Confederation* is a travel narrative, not a diary according to the definition of Mr. Matthews.

Such few blemishes, of course, in no way detract from the importance

of the bibliography, nor from the debt of gratitude which all readers of American history owe to Messrs. Matthews and Pearce.

WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR.

The Unfortified Boundary. Edited by ROBERT MCELROY [and] THOMAS RIGGS. New York: privately printed, 1943. 490 pp.

"A diary of the first survey of the Canadian Boundary Line from St. Regis to the Lake of the Woods by Major Joseph Delafield, American Agent under Articles VI and VII of the Treaty of Ghent, from the original manuscript recently discovered." This handsome volume is a valuable addition to the list of published American diaries, although destined for a limited audience. It is primarily of interest to students of diplomatic history and the history of cartography, although there are many descriptive passages of interest to historians of the northern frontier in 1817-1823. The long introduction by the editors (131 pages) is a highly technical explanation of the significance of the diary and the general diplomatic background.

W. H. H., JR.

Portraiture in the Virginia Historical Society, with Notes on the Subjects and Artists. By ALEXANDER WILBOURNE WEDDELL. Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1945. 192 pp. \$1.00.

Following the excellent examples set by the New-York Historical Society and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in issuing catalogues of their portrait collections, and in between the handlists of those in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society (that of the portraits in oil in this issue) the Virginia Historical Society's volume is welcome. Differing widely from the standardized institutional publication (very often found dull and dry by the general public) this guide to the Virginia collection is replete with quotation and interpellation; it throws many sidelights on the historical, social and literary background of the "Old Dominion." Undoubtedly the diverting personalia and the author's partizan and enthusiastic approach will be enjoyed by those using the volume at the Society's Gallery.

The names Jessup Lightfoot Allen (born William Griffin Orgain) lead the index; it ends with that of George Wythe and includes "*Argyle*," the noted racer foaled in Prince George's County Maryland in 1830. Not only are such Virginians as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Marshall recorded in the collection but also foreigners—among them Lord North, de Lafayette, de Lauzun and Gerard. To be found in the collection of the Virginia Society are portraits formerly exhibited at the Maryland Historical Society: a George Washington from the collection of Z. Collins Lee in 1856; portraits of the Lee family deposited by the late Elizabeth Col-

lins Lee at the turn of the century; also deposited at the same period were portraits of General and Mrs. Bradley T. Johnson and "Stonewall" Jackson, all by William Garl Browne and of which we find a contemporary record in the list of Browne's works inserted after his biographical notice. There are biographies of the following artists whose names are not found in many indexes: William Garl Browne, Edward Caledon Bruce, Henri Delattre, John B. Martin, James W. Ford, Louis M. D. Guillaume, David English Henderson, James Duncan Smith, James Warburg, H. M. Wegner, and Eugen Weisz. Partial check-lists of the works of Browne, John A. Elder, Louis M. D. Guillaume and William James Hubard are of considerable interest. Numbers of the artists working in Maryland also traveled to Virginia and in the collection are works by Bogle, Boudet, Delattre, Harding, Healy, John Hesselius, Hubard, Charles B. King, Charles Willson Peale, Rembrandt Peale, St. Memin, Thomas Sully and John Wollaston, whose productions are to be found in Maryland. Important as it is to have the contents of the Virginia Historical Society's collection of portraits available for study when away from Richmond, yet it is to be regretted that the lack of formality and consistency in format makes the guide difficult to use for quick and ready consultation.

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

Blair House—Past and Present: An Account of Its Life and Times in the City of Washington. By KATHERINE ELIZABETH CRANE. Washington: Department of State, 1945. 38 pp. \$1.00.

This handsome brochure was published to serve as a guide for the official guests of this country who at one time or another occupy the historic Blair house, a yellow-stuccoed Classic mansion located opposite the White House in Washington. Erected in 1824 by Dr. Joseph Lovell, first Surgeon General of the Army, Blair House was later purchased by Francis Blair for what would now appear a small sum for so magnificent a residence—\$6500. The Blair regime lasted there until 1942, when the United States purchased the property.

The Blairs and their activities are described in detail, particularly their relations with the White House. Francis Blair entered Andrew Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet"; Montgomery Blair was Postmaster General in Lincoln's administration; Elizabeth Blair Lee "bore Mrs. Lincoln company during the terrible days and nights" after Lincoln's assassination. After that the Blairs gradually retired from public life.

In this well written account there is no good description of the house, nor any attempt to correlate it with other examples of early American architecture. The sixteen excellent photographs, however, do give a fair picture of the place, from the Ionic portico to the statuary garden. The scene from the Department of State is particularly effective. As a whole the little book gives a convincing portrayal of Blair House and "its life and times."

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

The Romance Behind Walking Canes. By WILLIAM J. BURTSCHER. Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1945. 220 pp. \$2.50.

Implicit in the title of this work, and throughout the work itself, is originality of thought. Singular meaning is given to something which one (unless a collector) normally regards as commonplace. In so doing, the author exercises a craftsmanship easily equal to that used in the carving of the many finely wrought canes described by him. Thus, the reader's imagination is stimulated and his memories are revived.

And so there returned to mind the story of a gold headed cane in Maryland in 1897. In that year, there were two rival candidates for an associate judgeship in the Second Judicial Circuit. A couple of weeks prior to the election, it was found that, at a church supper about to be held, this cane was to be raffled off, votes being cast for the respective candidates. The cane was then to be presented to the one receiving the largest number of votes. One of the candidates, preferring the results of the ballot box to the hazard of the count at a church supper, purchased the cane prior to the lottery and presented it to his opponent. It is assumed that the cane is still in the possession of the descendants of the defeated candidate.

Mention of the title of this work several days ago caused a friend to remark in effect: "I have an old cane that used to belong to my great-great grandfather in Philadelphia. Sometimes, when feeling a little weary or out of sorts, I go out for a walk and take this cane with me. Somehow it lifts me up. It does something to me."

How closely akin is this reaction to the author's comment in his chapter on The Francis Dana Cane: "Because of its intimate contact with its owner, one thinks of a cane, almost, as if it were endowed with a positive consciousness of its environment. It seems to see and hear and feel the elements in which it moves and to transmit the essence of its intimacies to posterity" (page 174).

Rather than to dwell at great length upon a summary of the subject matter, it seems more appropriate to direct attention to the fact that the author, having tapped innumerable sources of information, historical and sentimental, has made a most interesting and a very unique contribution to current writings. Reference is made to several valuable canes owned by the Maryland Historical Society.

EDWARD D. MARTIN

Early Rehoboth. Documented Historical Studies of Families and Events in This Plymouth Colony Township. Volume I. By RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN. Rehoboth, Mass.: privately printed, 1945. x, 164 pp. \$5.00.

This volume makes an important contribution to Colonial history because it presents a new method for estimating population and shows that

previous studies have erred, at least so far as the Plymouth Colony is concerned. There are so few figures on seventeenth century populations that it is like the opening of a treasure trunk to find Mr. Bowen's carefully prepared statement. The chapters of this book employ the original records and let the contemporary documents tell their own stories, with just enough explanation to clarify vague points. A section on a hitherto unknown epidemic in 1694 (possibly smallpox, typhoid fever, or influenza) provides interesting material for the student of Colonial medical history. Primarily a local history—the first volume in a series—the influence of this work will extend far beyond the small area it purports to cover.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

History of Brown Memorial Presbyterian Church, 1870-1945. By L. IRVING POLLITT. Baltimore: Thomsen-Ellis-Hutton Co., 166 p. \$3.50.

From one point of view it is easy to understand how a man born and bred on the Eastern Shore in the Makemie Country could write the story of a great Presbyterian church. It somehow must be in his blood. The church, however, about which he writes so well and so carefully is a Baltimore institution, seventy-five years old and a church already with a distinguished record of achievement. As a Baltimore institution, it has been the spiritual home of a large and influential community of Presbyterians; not only are its roots reaching out through all the City, but it has carried on a world-wide ministry of loving service—benevolent, inspiring and fruitful.

Mr. Pollitt has made a fine contribution in his selection of material as well as in the arrangement and style in which he writes.

Brown Memorial Church began in 1870, created by a memorial gift from Mrs. Isabella Brown as a tribute to the memory of her late husband Mr. George Brown of the firm of Alexander Brown & Sons. She was a member of First Presbyterian Church, and her pastor, Dr. John Chester Backus aided her extremely generous gift by sending his remarkable assistant pastor, John Sparhawk Jones and a group of sixty substantial members of First Church together with other members from various churches to "colonize" the new venture. From such an auspicious beginning and under a series of remarkable pastors: Sparhawk Jones, Maltbie Babcock, John Timothy Stone, J. Ross Stevenson, John McDowell and its present distinguished minister, Dr. T. Guthrie Speers, a long and distinguished history is well told in this book. Baltimore, as well as many other people will read it with profit and interest.

JOHN H. GARDNER, JR.

Scientific Thought in the American Colleges, 1638-1800. By THEODORE HORNBERGER. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1945. 108 pp. \$1.50.

This monograph is a by-product of a larger investigation of scientific thought in North America before 1800 and deals mainly with the courses in mathematics and natural philosophy offered in eight colleges which were sufficiently well established to exercise cultural influence before the close of the eighteenth century.

Maryland readers will be interested to note that both Washington College (Chestertown) and St. John's College (Annapolis) were in the group of institutions just below the first eight. Washington had a professorship in natural philosophy and logic as early as 1782, and St. John's possessed a chair in mathematics in 1789, but neither owned enough equipment to make a showing in the scientific field before 1800.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

You Will Find It in Maryland. By STIRLING GRAHAM. Illustrated by EDWIN TUNIS. Baltimore: Records and Goldsborough, Inc. [1945] [92 pp.].

As a sixtieth anniversary tribute to the manufacturing firm which published it, this handsome book supplies a varied range of information about Maryland and Marylanders. The larger portion is devoted to a list of Maryland "firsts." The text is interspersed with other historical matter dealing with the founding of the Colony, the lore of good eating and remarks on the place of Baltimore in the Maryland cosmos. Mr. Tunis's illustrations in color help to make a vivid presentation.

J. W. F.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE NEW COVER

On entering its forty-first year the Magazine throws down the gauge to advancing years by exchanging its staid design for a bright color and a characteristic Maryland view. Through the universal language of this and other pictures the Committee on Publications believes that the new cover will attract more readers to the contents and thus contribute toward arousing wider interest in the history of State and Nation—one of the objects set forth in the Society's charter of 1844.

To Mr. Arthur E. Miller, of Baltimore, instructor at the Maryland Institute and successful designer, the Society is indebted for planning the cover.

RATCLIFFE MANOR

On the Tred Avon River, two miles from Easton, stands the Georgian mansion which was for a century and a half the home of the Hollyday family. Architecturally it is one of the most distinguished houses in Maryland. Less impressive in size than certain others, it is scarcely excelled in beauty of proportion and detail of decoration.

The name comes from the tract patented in 1659 by Robert Morris, a mariner, who chose it presumably to commemorate Ratcliffe on the Thames, an outlying section of London. Though Morris's warrant of the preceding year called for manorial rights, it appears that neither he nor succeeding owners exercised the privilege. A part of this land came in 1749 into possession of Henry Hollyday (1724-1789), son of Colonel James Hollyday, of Readbourne," Queen Anne's County, through his marriage to Anna Maria Robins. The younger Hollyday was high sheriff of Queen Anne's until his removal to Talbot in 1752, when he purchased adjoining properties on one of which he built this house. While there is no evidence of the date, there is reason to assign its construction to the middle 1750's. The estate passed out of possession of the Hollyday connection in 1903, and, after being for many years in the hands of the Hathaway family, was acquired in 1945 by Mr. Gerard C. Smith, formerly of New York.

GENEALOGICAL PRIZE ESTABLISHED

To encourage the collection and compilation of records of Maryland families, Mrs. Sumner A. Parker of Baltimore has presented \$1,000 to the Society to support an annual award for the best contribution received in this field. The income from this fund is to be awarded annually for the article or compilation of genealogical material judged by the Society to be most useful. The prize will be known as the Dudrea W. Parker Genealogy Prize.

The Society will be glad to consider entries in the contest for the current year, closing December 31, 1946. A committee of judges will be chosen in due course and the name of the winner, with a description of the material for which the prize is awarded, will appear in these pages.

Baltimore History—I am preparing to write a history of Baltimore society and politics in the first half of the 19th century. While the material at the Maryland Historical Society is excellent, I am sure that there is much more in private hands, especially that of a personal nature, and that dealing with lesser known figures in Baltimore history. I would like very much to examine manuscripts of all descriptions concerning this period—diaries, personal and business letters, and account books. For instance, does anyone have material on Edward Johnson, Mayor 1808-1816 and 1819-1820?

WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR.
Department of History
Johns Hopkins University

Day—Cramblitt or Cramblet—Avis Day and Stephen Cramblet were married in Baltimore May 12, 1796. (Superior Court Record.) Avis had brother Thomas Day. Avis and Stephen had twelve children: Amelia, married Peter McAnalley; Ann, married Charles Jones; Thomas; Rebecca; Hannah, married John Purdy; Elizabeth; John; Mary; Francis Asbury; Julia; Stephen; Lydiannah. Avis died 1821. All this from family Bible I own. I wish the earlier ancestry of Avis Day and Stephen Cramblet (Cramlet, etc.) and possible connection with Jacob Crambllick family of Anne Arundel (will of 1800).

FRANCES E. SCHMIDT
Hyde Park Hotel
Chicago, Ill.

Cheney et al.—I want the names of the parents with mother's complete name and authentication, of each of the following: Richard Cheney, d. 1685, and his first wife; Hon. Thomas Hatton and sister-in-law, Margaret Hatton; Richard Hall, d. 1687, and his wife Elizabeth; William Ijams, d. 1703; Richard Smith, d. 1690, and his wife Eleanor; Rev. William Wilkinson and his wife Naomi.

I will pay ten dollars (\$10.00) each for the first correct answer sent me.

ETHEL DENUNE YOUNG
(Mrs. Norville Finley Young),
1968 Denune Avenue, Columbus 3, Ohio

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

FREDERICK B. M. HOLLYDAY, a native of Easton, Maryland, is a student at Washington and Lee University. ☆ A member of the Society's staff since 1944, ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE is a student of the history of American art and a specialist in miniature painting. ☆ Holder of a doctorate in history from the University of Maryland, WALTER S. SANDERLIN hails from Washington, D. C. He is assistant professor of history at Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio. His monograph, "History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal" will be published during the present year by Johns Hopkins University Press. ☆ HOMER JOSEPH DODGE, a journalist, also of Washington, D. C., and a member of this Society, is founder of the Bankers Information Service. He has been editor of *The Gold Fish Bowl* for several terms.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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JUNE, 1946

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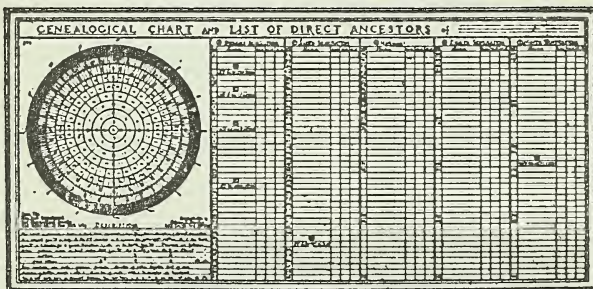
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The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, has been engaged in collecting, preserving and disseminating information relating to the history of the State. Those interested in the objects of the Society are invited to have their names proposed for membership. The annual dues are \$5.00, life membership \$100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sundays.

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Worcester

Wednesday Morning near 10 of the Clock

To all Friends of American Liberty be it known that
this Morning before break of Day a Brigade consisting of about
1000 or 1200 Men landed at Ship's Farm at Cambridge and marched
to Lexington where they found a Company of our Colonial Militia
in Arms upon whom they fired without any provocation and killed
6 Men and wounded 4 others by an Express from Boston we
find another Brigade are now upon their March from Boston
supposed to be about 1000. - The Bearers Trail Signal is charged
to alarm the Country quite to Connecticut, and all persons are
desired to furnish him with fresh Horses as they may be needed, I
have spoken with several who have seen the Dead and Wounded.
Pray let the Delegates from this Colony to Connecticut, see that
they know Col^l Foster of Brookfield one of the Delegates -

J. Palmer one of the
Com^{rs} of 1775

A true Copy taken from the
from the Original Orders of the Com^{rs} of Correspondence for
Worcester April 19th 1775 Mess^{rs} Nathan Baldwin Town Clerk
Worcester April 19th 1775

Brookline Thursday 11 Clocks above is a true Copy rec^d by
Express forwarded from Worcester -

Test Daniel Tyler Jun^r

Norwich Thursday 4 Clocks the above is a true Copy as sent
by Express from Mr^r Tyler Test Christopher Leffingwell

New London Thursday Evening 7 Clocks a true Copy at P^{er} Express

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Nath^l Chas^l Jun^r
William Cort } Com^{rs}

~ yme Friday Morning 9 1/2 Clocks a true Copy
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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLI

JUNE, 1946

Number 2

THE LEXINGTON ALARM, APRIL 19, 1775: MESSAGES SENT TO THE SOUTHWARD AFTER THE BATTLE

By ELIZABETH MERRITT



A series of papers that show in detail how the news of the battle of Lexington was carried from the scene of the fighting to the southern colonies as far as Charleston, South Carolina, may fairly be regarded as a prize exhibit in the story of the United States. Such messages are informal, written in haste, sometimes on scraps of paper, yet they fire the imagination. The Maryland Historical Society finds itself the happy possessor of the most nearly complete sequence of Lexington Alarm papers now known to exist.¹ The story of the alarm has been told in print, notably in Force's *Archives*,² and in an able article by John H. Scheide in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for April, 1940.³ Since the Society's papers had not then been discovered and so were not used, it seems wise to present in these pages the full text of them, with an interpretation.

¹ This is no recent acquisition; the papers have been among the Society's manuscripts for many years.

² Peter Force, *American Archives*, ser. IV, vol. II, pp. 366-369.

³ Vol. 50, pp. 49-79.

Some months ago a routine examination of a big black box of miscellaneous manuscripts at the Society disclosed an account of the battle of Lexington written from nearby Watertown, Massachusetts, about 10 o'clock the morning of the battle. Here was a story of the fray written before the smoke had cleared away; it might justify a little research. That little quickly grew, and it ended in a story as interesting as Longfellow's "Paul Revere's Ride," and more important because it is a thing, not of poetry but of reality.

By mid-April, 1775, although war had not yet broken out, the British forces in the American colonies were fully armed and alert for trouble. The colonies all had committees of correspondence; Massachusetts was merely the first to organize one. If these committees fulfilled only their ostensible purpose of transmitting information, they could be used, and they were used, to draw the thirteen outwardly dissimilar colonies together. On the very early morning of April 19, 1775, in Lexington, a British force of about 1000 or 1200 men, that had marched from Cambridge during the night, met a Massachusetts militia company in arms. Shots were fired,⁴ and six Americans were killed and four more were wounded. That was the battle of Lexington.

About 10 o'clock, Deacon Joseph Palmer,⁵ a member of the Committee of Safety, and, safe but exhausted from the fray, sent off a note "To all Friends of American Liberty." His message, written from Watertown, was carried to Worcester and thence on southward. At each place where it stopped, it was copied and endorsed, and either the copy or the original was sent on to the next stop. Happily for those who read it today, the endorsements usually include the exact hour when the message arrived. The earliest paper the Society has was copied at Fairfield, Connecticut, for all the writing up to that point was done by the same person. At Fairfield the big double foolscap sheet was folded, sealed and addressed to Capt. Isaac Sears at New York. From New York on, the endorsements are originals, and the names are signatures.

⁴ See Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, VI, 183. Historians cannot agree on who fired the first shot.

⁵ Palmer was born in England in 1716 and came to America in 1746. He was a card-maker for wool-carders, a glass maker, a factor for chocolate, spermaceti and salt; and besides being a man of substance, he was a leading patriot. He had been a member of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. After this battle he was made colonel, brigadier and then brigadier general in the state militia. He died in Dorchester in 1788.

From New Castle, Delaware, separate pieces of paper are used, with one or two endorsements on each. Palmer's message reached Baltimore on April 26, and was sent on to Annapolis, together with an offer of their services by several men whose names figure later in the history of the Revolution.

Meanwhile, from Wallingford, Connecticut, another and fuller, if less accurate, account of the battle was sent south on April 24. The dispatch followed the same route as the earlier one, for it was sent by the regular committee network, and, because it travelled faster, it got to Baltimore only one day later. Like the Watertown account, it was copied or endorsed at each stop; the Society's example was copied at Elizabeth, New Jersey, and was sent on with a cover letter from Fairfield.⁶ Both of these accounts went much farther south than Baltimore, but of that, more later.

Beside these two messages which did so much to touch off the general conflict, the big black box turned up fragments, more or less complete, of three or four others dated only a little later. Of two, the first letter in the series is gone; only the endorsements or the cover notes remain. One contains the spirited repartee between John McKinly of Wilmington, and Tobias Rudolph and Patrick Hamilton.⁷ They did not like Mr. McKinly's aspersions on the speed of the expresses⁸ in Maryland. New York sent out an account of the taking over of the Collector's office by the patriots, and suggested the sending of "a light Vessel immediately for England with a true State of the Facts." This news travelled the distance from Head of Elk to Baltimore in sixteen hours, when the average speed of the expresses while they were riding was about five miles an hour. The last news, which was sent out by Thomas Mumford from Hartford, Connecticut, on April 26 at three o'clock, told about General Gage's order to seize for the King's use all vessels found on the New England coast. Perhaps some of these vessels were owned in Baltimore. To that town came in quick succession a whole series of important dispatches; on April 26, the news from Watertown; April 27, from Wallingford; April 28, two more messages at different times; Sunday,

⁶ The cover letter was copied for the last time at Greenwich, Connecticut.

⁷ Rudolph was the committeeman for Head of Elk, now Elkton. Patrick Hamilton held the same post at Charles Town, Cecil County.

⁸ In those days an express was the courier, the rider who carried the correspondence. Sometimes a writer will say that he talked with the express who had just arrived.

April 30, news of martial action in New York; May 2, news of the danger to shipping. That must have been an exciting week for the Baltimore committee.

Although none of the endorsements on any of the alarms that the Society has takes the story farther south than Annapolis, it can be carried by contemporary printed copies and by other original manuscripts⁹ clear down to Charleston, South Carolina. As the news came down southwards with more or less speed, it spread out in all directions almost as rapidly. The first endorsement on the Watertown alarm reads: "A true Copy taken from the Original p^r Order of the Com^{ee} of Correspondence for Worcester April 19th 1775." Since it was a copy, where is Palmer's original? It must have stayed in Worcester, and the chances are that it served to originate other copies to towns not on the direct line to the south. The same thing happened all the way on down. By the time the Society's alarm was copied at Fairfield, it had been copied seven times. By April 22 Palmer's message was printed in a handbill¹⁰ at Norwich, where it arrived late in the afternoon of April 20. It arrived in New York at 2 o'clock Sunday afternoon, April 23, and was at once printed in a handbill.¹¹ It got to Philadelphia on Monday, April 24, at 5 P. M., and was printed in a handbill by W. & T. Bradford.¹² It reached Baltimore April 26, where Mary Katharine Goddard printed a broadside of it. In Williamsburg Alexander Purdie did the same.

Newspapers also seized upon the interesting news. One Philadelphia paper, the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, carried the text of the handbill on April 25; two more, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Pennsylvania Journal*, on April 26. The *Maryland Journal and the Baltimore Advertiser* printed the text on April 26. This effectively dates the handbill, since Mary Katharine Goddard printed both of them. The Annapolis *Maryland Gazette* printed it on April 27; the Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* on April 29,

⁹ One such manuscript is now owned by William H. Scheide, Titusville, Pennsylvania. It would be impossible to overestimate the kindness and the interest shown by Mr. Scheide in the present enquiries. He supplied a full photostat of his copy, and of the message written by General McDougall on the back of a New York handbill.

¹⁰ This handbill is not listed in Evans' *American Bibliography*.

¹¹ The manuscript is endorsed "4 P. M.," but General McDougall's account, mentioned above, says it got there at 2 P. M., and that the committee met at 4 o'clock.

¹² Evans, 14397. The Maryland Historical Society has two copies.

in a special supplement.¹³ In North Carolina, the New Bern *North Carolina Gazette* for May 12 printed both the Watertown and the Wallingford dispatches. The Wallingford dispatch received the same sort of printed publicity that the earlier one had had. If the purpose of sending both of these accounts as far as South Carolina was not so much to get help for the men of Lexington as to stir up the people who were not yet aware of their unity or ready for independence, then the more exciting Wallingford story was the better of the two.

Of all these messages and copies and reprints of messages, much has disappeared, but much remains. Beside the Watertown copy—original that the Maryland Historical Society has, there is a short form, written at Norwich on one side of a single sheet of paper, and carrying but two endorsements, one from Worcester and one from Brooklyn, Conn.¹⁴ Another short form is in the Clements Library at the University of Michigan. It was copied for Silas Deane and seems to have been sent by him to Capt. Philip Mortimer. A fourth form, of which only facsimile can now be found, was made in Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, where the express had been ordered to stop “and acquaint the Committee with the foregoing particulars.” Apparently it was copied there for the use of the Committee of Safety, for, beside Palmer’s message, it contains only the briefest notations of the way it had come and the time it had arrived at each place.¹⁵ A fifth copy, now believed to be the only other one remaining, appears to have been copied in Trenton from that of the Society. This one, since 1873 in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, has most of the errors of the Society’s copy and adds a few misspellings of names. Proper names that a Fairfield man would know how to spell might easily be misspelled by a copier in Trenton. The first express was Israel Bissel, the regular Boston-New York rider; by Fairfield, he had become IRAEL Bissel; by Trenton he was TRAIL Bissel. This Philadelphia copy, which was bought at auction in New York in 1873 and presented promptly to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is by all odds the best known one, and the one most often copied and reproduced. It is printed in 1829 in Hazard’s *Register*.¹⁶ This

¹³ Evans, 14628.

¹⁴ This copy is owned by Mr. W. H. Scheide, and, so far as is known, it had not been reproduced anywhere until it appeared in the article already cited, by his father, Mr. John H. Scheide.

¹⁵ Scheide, *loc. cit.*, 67-68.

¹⁶ Hazard’s *Register of Pennsylvania*, III, 175 ff.

relationship is undeniable, for the original bears written on it the note that it was delivered to Hazard, senior, by one of the Committee. It is printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for 1873,¹⁷ shortly after it had been presented to the Society. It is reproduced in reduced facsimile in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*¹⁸ in 1903. Which of the two, the Philadelphia or the Maryland Historical Society copy, served as the source of the handbills and newspaper accounts is uncertain, for the two manuscripts are nearly identical.

The Wallingford message, which went so much farther and faster, remains in two copies. One is owned by Mr. Scheide. This, which seems to have been the original used by Peter Force¹⁹ and possibly by Robert W. Gibbes also,²⁰ was copied in Baltimore by John Boyd, clerk of the Committee, from the copy that the Society has, for the names up to Baltimore are copies, and those beginning at Annapolis are signatures. The endorsements go down as far as New Bern, North Carolina. The Society's copy was made at Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, for, from there on, the names are signatures. Some of the endorsements or cover notes add an entertaining vividness to the story, and they have not been known before. Because the Wallingford letter got through to Charleston, it is natural to look for an original in South Carolina, and perhaps one was there once. Dr. Gibbes gave his documents to the State, but only endorsements are to be found now. Some of the records of the State were lost during the War between the States; others have been undoubtedly lost since then; for many years people had unrestricted access to the papers at all times. The Historical Commission at Columbia now has most, but not all, of the notes or endorsements from Alexandria, Virginia, to Georgetown, South Carolina, as well as the wrapper of the message sent from Georgetown to Charles Town (Charleston), May 10. 1775.

Because of the nature and interest of the alarm papers, search for more originals, both manuscript and printed, was made. Of manuscripts, the Huntington Library, the Historical Society of South Carolina, the South Caroliniana Library of the University, and the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress have

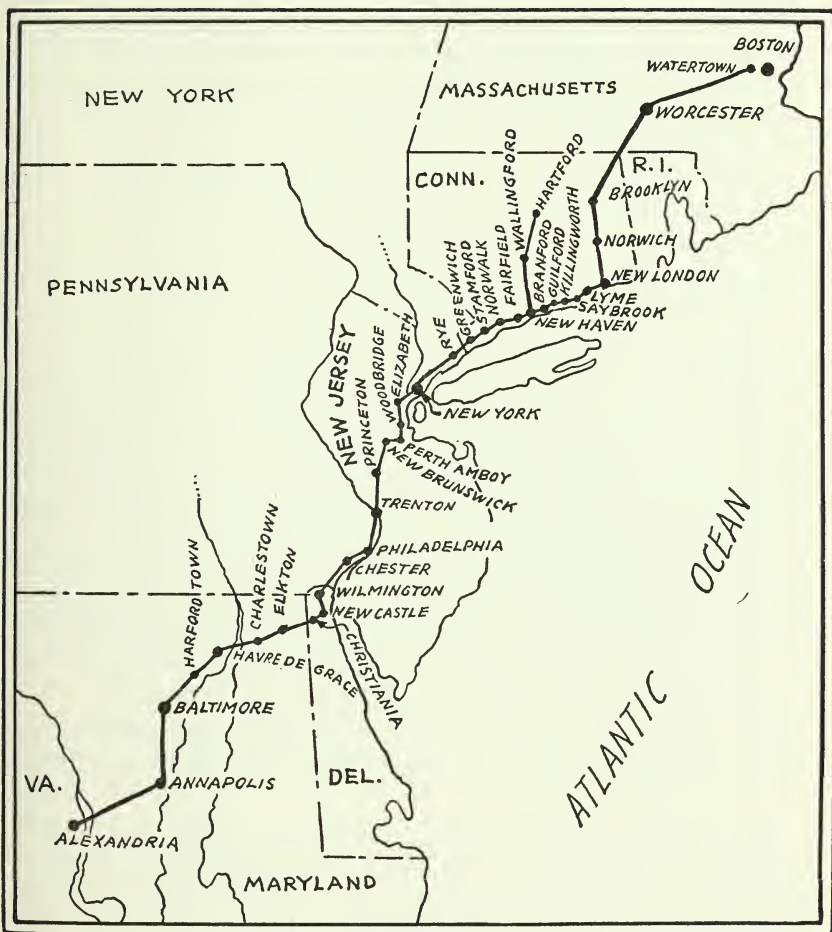
¹⁷ Vol. XXVII, pp. 434-435.

¹⁸ Vol. XXVII, pp. 258-261.

¹⁹ Force, *American Archives*, Ser. IV, II, 366-369.

²⁰ Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, I, 82-91.

²¹ A. S. Salley to Elizabeth Merritt, April 23, 1945. A. L. S. 2 pp.



SKETCH MAP SHOWING ROUTE TRAVELLED BY "EXPRESSES"
WITH THE NEWS FROM LEXINGTON.

nothing. It is surprising that the Library of Congress reports nothing, for it has the papers of Peter Force, who printed both the Watertown and the Wallingford alarms, with many of the endorsements. But search through several bundles of transcripts and press copy, apparently for Series IV, volume II, did not reveal any originals, and many citations were unsatisfactory or entirely lacking. The John Carter Brown Library of Brown University has no manuscript.

Of the handbills that proliferated from the letters as they came on down towards Charleston, more remain. The John Carter Brown Library has a copy of the New York broadside²² of the Watertown message, and so have the Library of Congress and the New York Historical Society. So, too, has Mr. Scheide, and on the back of his copy there is written an account of the reception of the Watertown news in New York, by General Allexander McDougall, of the Committee. The Philadelphia broadside²³ exists in a number of copies, of which the Society has two. One apparently came down with the Watertown alarm,²⁴ the other was sent by Isaac Melcher of Philadelphia to Robert Purviance. Since this copy is dated Wilmington, April 24, 1775, the date of printing is established. The Goddard handbill printed in Baltimore is not in the Society's collection; the Library of Congress copy is the only one located by either Evans or Wroth.²⁵ The Wallingford alarm, like the Watertown one, gave rise to broadsides in New York and in Philadelphia,²⁶ but no copies of them can be located now. The Society has a broadside of the dispatch sent by Isaac Sears (not Bears or Beers) and others to Philadelphia, and sent on southward down to Baltimore.²⁷

The first alarm begins with the double foolscap sheet that is item (1). Following it is a copy of the Bradford handbill which was enclosed in the next paper. Because this handbill is substantially a copy of the Palmer message already given, it will not be reprinted here. The second manuscript sheet, item (2) as printed below, begins with a note from John Thompson to Samuel Patter-

²² Evans, 14337.

²³ Evans, 14397.

²⁴ See page 100 below (John Thompson to S. Patterson, Newcastle, April 25, 1775).

²⁵ Evans, 13819. Lawrence C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, no. 345.

²⁶ Evans, 14338, 14398, 13856.

²⁷ Evans, 13820. For the originals, see pp. 109-110 below.

son. Item (3) is a small piece of paper that Patterson used to inform Col. Cooch, though the Colonel wrote his message to Tobias Rudolph on the preceding sheet (item 2, above). The next bit of paper, item (4) is also small; it carries but one note. The last of this series, item (5), is a large double sheet; it has but one rather short note and presumably, from the address and from the creases and the colour of the paper, it served to enclose all that went before it when forwarded to the Baltimore Committee now convened at Annapolis.

(1)

Wednesday Morning near 10 Of the Clock

Wartertown

To all Friends of American Liberty be it known that this morning before break of Day a Bridgade consisting of about 1000 or 1200 Men landed at Phip's Farm at Cambridge and marchd to Lexington where they found a Company of our Colony Malitia in Arms upon whom they fired without any provocation and killd 6 Men and wounded 4 others. by an Express from Boston we find another Bridgade are now upon their March from Boston supposed to be about 1000—The Bearer Irael Bissel is charged to alarm the Country quite to Connecticut; and all persons are desired to furnish him with fresh Horses as they may be needed; I have spoken with several who have seen the Dead and Wounded—Pray let the Delegates from this Colony to Connecticut see this they know Coll Foster of Brookfield One of the Delegates—

J Palmer One of the
Comee of S——y

A true Copy, taken from the
from the Original Pr Order of the Comee of Correspondance for Worcester—April 19th 1775. Attest Nathan Balding Town Clerk
Worcester April 19th 1775

Brooline ²⁸ Thirsday 11 Clock above is a true Copy rec^d Pr Express
forwarded from Worcester—

Test Daniel Tyler Jun^r—

Norwich Thirsday 4 Clock the above is a true Cappy as sent Pr Express
from M^r Tyler

Test Christopher Leffingwell—

New London Thirsday Eving 7 Clock a true Copy as Pr Express

Rich^d Law
Sam^l H Parsons
Nath^l Shaw Jun^r Comee
William Coit

²⁸ Brooklyn, Conn., in the eastern part of the State.

Lyme Friday Morning 1 oClock, a true Copy as rec^d Pr Express

John Lay 2^d
John McCurdy
Will^m Noyes Comtee
Sam^l Mather Jun^r

Say Brook Fryday Morning 4 oClock a true Copy as rec^d Pr Express

Sam^l Field
John Cochran Comee
Ric^d Dickenson

Killingworth Fryday Morn 7 oClock forwarded as rec^d Pr Express

George Eliot
Sam^l Gale Comee

E Guilford Fryday Morning 8 Clock. forwarded as rec^d Pr Express

Timothy Todd
Isaac Knight Comttee

Guilford Friday Morning 10 oClock forwarded as rec^d Pr Express

Sam^l Brown David Landon Comee

Branford Friday 12 oClock noon Rec^d and forwarded Pr

Sam^l Barker One of the Comee

New Haven April 21st Rec^d and forwarded upon certain intelligence

Pr Sam^l Bishop
Joseph Munson
Tim^o Jones—Jun^r
David Austin.— Comtee
Isaac Doolittle.
Daniel Lyman—

Fairfield Saturday 22^d April 8 Clock forwarded as rec^d pr Express from
N Haven

G Selleck Silliman
Thad^s Burr
Job Bartram Comtee
Andrew Rowland
Jonⁿ Sturges

Since the above written we rec^d the following by second Express:

Thirsday 3 Clock Afternoon P. M.

Sr

I am this moment informed by an express from Woodstock taken from the Mouth of the Express that arrived there two of the Clock Afternoon that the Contest between the first Brigade that marched to Concord was still continuing this Morning at the Town of Lexington to which said Brigade had ~~returned~~ retreated. That another Brigade, said to be the second mentioned in the Letter of this Morning, had Landed with a Quantity of Artillery at the place where the first did—The provincials were

determined to prevent the two Brigades from joining their strength if possible and remain in great need of Succor.

NB. The Regulars when in Concord burnt the Court House took two pieces of Cannon, which they rendered useless; and began to take up Concord Bridge; on which Capt _____ who with many on both sides were soon killed, then made an Attack upon the King's Troops, on which they retreated to Lexington

I am Hum^e Serv^t

Eb: Williams

Co^l Obadiah Johnson
Canterbury.

P. S. Mr McFarland of Plainfield Merchant has just returned from Boston by Way of Providence, who conversed with an Express from Lexington who further informs, that about 4000 of our Troops had surrounded the First Brigade above mentioned, who were on a hill in Lexington; that the Action continued, and there were about 50 of our Men killed, and 150 of the Regulars as near as they could determine when the Express came away, it will be expedient for every Man to go who is fit and willing.

The above is a true Copy as rec^d Pr Express from New Haven, and attested to by the Committee of Correspondence from Town to Town

Test.

Jonth Sturges

Andrew Rowland

G Selleck Silliman Com^{ee}

Thad^s Burr

Job Bartram

New York Committee Chamber 4 o'Clock Sunday

Afternoon 23^d April 1775

Received the within Account by Express and forwarded by Express to New Brunswick, with Directions to stop at Elizabeth Town and acquaint the Committee there with the foregoing Particulars

By Order of the Committee

The Committee at N Brunswick

Isaac Low Chairman

are requested to forward this
to Philad^a

New Brunswick Ap^l 24th 2 o'Clock in the Morning received the above Express and Forwarded to Princetown by

W^m Oake Comm

Ja^s Neilson

Az: Dunham

Princeton Monday April 24 6 o'Clock receivd & forwarded to Trenton by

Tho^s Wiggins

Jonn Baldwin

Committee Members

Trenton Monday April 24th nine Clock in the morning Received the above
Pr Express and forwarded the Same to the Comittee of Philadelphia

P Sam^l Tucker
Isaac Smith Com^{te}

Philad^a Monday 5 OClock P. M.
Reced & forwarded by the Committee (p. I Melcher
of Philad^a Sam^l Meredith Chairman
24 April 1775

On the outer fold of the paper is the address for the original
message, now appearing inverted between the closely written
endorsements made at Princeton and Trenton: "For Cap^t Isaac
Sears, New York."

(2)

Newcastle tuesday morning
about 3 OClock 25^t April

Sir

The enclosed was forwarded here by the
express from Doctor M^e Kinly you will
perceive by the dates the dispatch with which
it has been brought from Newyork and send
it with all expedition to the Comittee of
Maryland with the printed papers &c.

John Thompson

To Samuel Patterson Esqr.

P S. intelligence is sent by
express to Dover—

Samuel Patterson Esqr
Xtiana Mills ²⁹

Sr You Are Desired To Forward this to
Baltimore As Fast as possible I am yrs

Thos Cooch

to Tobyas Rudelph Esqr 25 Aprile in ye Mornig
a Elk

(3)

Tuesday morning at Break
of day p messenger

Dr. Sir—

the Accts as sent you will recive by which I find
our unhappy affairs is now come to Cruelty and nothing
but blood is the Consequence

²⁹ Now Christiana, Del.

forward this in a moment to Hd Elk to Mr
 Rudulph, and him as fast as Possible I think
 you should meet at Xteen⁸⁰ directly call at
 my house and we must do all in our Power
 S. Patterson

To
 Collⁿ Tho^s Cooch Esq^r p Express

(4)

Gentlemen

Inclosed you have the allarming News of an engagement
 between the regulars & provincials frowarded with the utmost expedition
 as the Provincial Convention is not Sitting it will be expedient they should
 have notice before they adjourn Yours &c:

Aquila Hall Junr.
 Jo^s Butler

Tuesday Night
 10 O'Clock

(5)

To the Gentlemen of the Baltimore Committee now sitting in the Pro-
 vincial Convention at Annapolis

Gentlemen

Sincerely grievd and greatly alarmd
 at the Interesting Intelligence this day recievd from our oppressed and
 Insulted Sister Colony of the Massachusets Bay we think it our duty to
 offer to you and assure you of our Immediate and chearful assistance in
 the Seizing of the Arms & Ammunition at Annapolis, or in any other
 Service that you, or the Gentlemen of the different Counties now met in
 Convention may deem necessary or Expedient to be Performed.

Should you need our Services Please to send back the bearer with all
 Possible dispatch. we are with much Regard Gentⁿ

Baltimore 26 April 1775

NB. you have Inclosed the
 original Intillegence that came
 by the different Expresses. which
 ought to have been forwarded before
 Instead of the Coppy

there are two Capt^s absent. whose
 officers say they will also be ready

Your Humble Servants
 And Buchanan
 Mordecai Gist
 Ja^s Edwards
 Cornels^s Clopper Jun^r

To the
 Baltimore Committee
 Now Convend at
 Annapolis

P fav of Mr Darley
 Express

⁸⁰ Christiana, Del.

The Wallingford alarm, item (6), provided a thrill. What came first to light was half of the present big double sheet; this carries the message to Stamford. Its left-hand edge had been cut, but not in a straight line. Days later, another piece turned up; it had a crooked cut along its edge, too. And the two pieces fit perfectly so that not the most minute piece of paper had to be added in restoring. The next item (7) begins at Fairfield, Connecticut, April 24th, 1775; and goes down to midnight of the following day at New Brunswick, New Jersey. It is a cover for the preceding piece, and in some cases the committees have endorsed the contents and the cover also. Paper (8) is another large double sheet; judging by the size and the endorsements, it carried the other parts of this alarm to Annapolis.

(6)

Wallingford Monday Morning
April 24. 1775.

Dear Sir

Col^l Wodsworth was over in this Place most of Yesterday and has Order'd twenty Men out of Each Company in his Regiment; some of which have already sett off and others go this Morning. He brings Acco^{ts} which Come to him Authenticated from Thursday in the Afternoon—The King's Troops being Reinforced A Second time, & Joined as I Suppose from what I can Learn by the Party who were Intercepted by *Col^l Gardner*, were then Encamped on Winter Hill, and were Surrounded by 20,000 of our Men who were Intrenching. *Col^l Gardner's* Ambush proved fatal to Lord Piercy, and another Gen^l Officer, who were killed on the Spot the first fire. to Counterbalance this good News, the Story is, that our first Man in Command (who he was I know not) is also kill'd. it seems they have lost many Men on both Sides—*Col^l Wodsworth* had the Acco^t in a Letter from Hartford.— The Country beyond here, are all gone off, and we Expect it will be impossible to procure Horses for our Waggon, as they have, or will in Every place Employ themselves all their Horses. In this Place they send an Horse for every sixth Man, & are pressing them for that purpose. I know of no way, but you must immediately send a Couple of Stout able Horses, who may Overtake us at Hartford possibly, where we must return *M^{rs} Noy's* & *Meloy's* if he holds out so far; remember the Horses must be had at any Rate. I am in the greatest Haste Your Entire friend & hum^{le} Serv^t

James Lockwood.

N. B. *Col^l Gardner* took 9 Prisoners, and 12 Clubb'd their Firelocks and Came over to our Party—*Col^l Gardner's* Party consisted of 700 and the

Regulars 1800 instead of 1200 as we hear'd before. They have sent a Vessel up Mystick River as far as Temples farm, which is about half a Mile from Winter Hill— These Accot^s being true, all the King's forces except 4 or 500, must be Encamped on Winter Hill. at the Instance of the Gentlemen of Fairfield just departed from hence, this is Copied Verbatim, from the Original to be forwarded to that town—

Isaac Bears. [Sears]

New Haven April 24. half past 9 oClock forenoon
Pearpoint Edwards

Fairfield April 24.
3 oClock Afternoon A True Copy as rec^d p^r Express.
Thad^s Burr
And^w Rowland
Elijah Abel

Norwalk April 24.
7 oClock Afternoon a True Copy as rec^d by Express.
Jn^o Cannon
Thaddeus Betts Come
Sam^l Gruman

Stanford April 24.
10 oClock in the even.g A True Copy as recd. p Express
Jn^o Hait Jun^r
Sam^l Hutton
David Webb
Dan^l Gray
Jon^a Warring

Greenwich April 25.
3 oClock Morning The above is forwarded to the Com^{ee} of
Correspondence at New York—
Amos Mead

A True Copy rec^d in New York 2 oClock P.M.—
Tuesday 25 April 1775.

A True Copy rec^d at Eliz. Town 7 oClock in the Even.g
Tuesday 25 April 1775—

Jona: Hampton Chairman of the
Committee—
Geo: Ross
John Blanchard

A True Copy rec^d at Woodbridge 10 of the Clock in the Even^g
Tuesday 25th April 1775.

Nathaniel Heard three of
Sam^l F. Parkes the Comm
Jonathan Clewson [or Clawson]

The above received at New Brunswick the 25th April 1775 12 O'Clock at night

W^m Oake
Ja^s Neilson
Az: Dunham
Comm

A true Copy receiv'd at Princeton April 26th 1775.
half past three o'Clock in the morning.

Thomas Wiggins
Jonⁿ Baldwin
members of Committee

The above received at Trenton on Wednesday morn^g about half after 6 OClock & forw^d at 7 OClock

Sam ^l Tucker	three of
Isaac Smith	the Com
Abm Hunt	mittee at
	Trenton

Philad^a 12 OClock Wednesday

Rec^d & forwarded at same time by

Lambt Cadwalader
W^m Bradford
Tho^s Pryor
Isaac Melcher

Chester 4 O'Clock Wednesday P. M.

Rec^d and forwarded by

To the Committee	Fra ^s Johnston	Three of the
of Wilmington	Isaac Eyre	Committee
	Sam ^l Fairlamb	

New Castle 9 oClock Wednesday Evening

Rec^d & forwarded

Z: VLeuvenigh
Stephⁿ Spencer

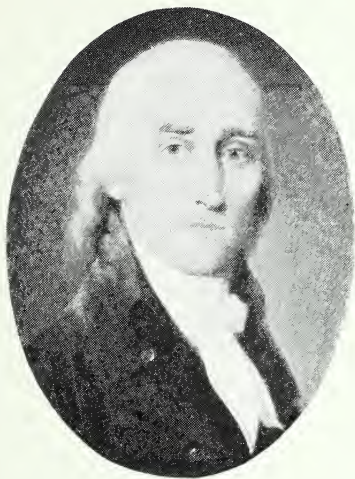
Wednesday night

Christeen bridge 12 [^] oClock forwarded to Collⁿ Thos Cooch Esq^r who
ricd it this moment and he to forward it to Tobias Rudulph Esq^r
H^d Elk in Maryland

S. Patterson

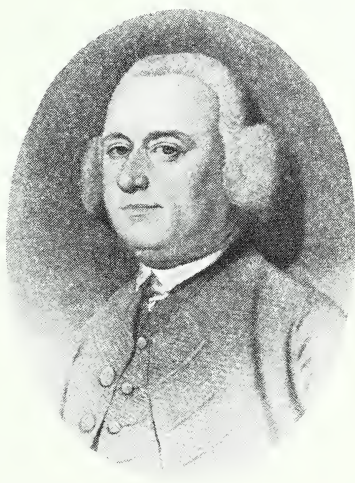
Night and day to be forwarded

Head Elk 1/2 past 4 o'Clock AM receiv'd & forward^d to Patrick Hamilton
Esq^r in Ch^s Town by Tobias Rudulph & Jos^h Gilpin



ROBERT PURVIANCE (c. 1733-1806)

Merchant of Baltimore, member of the Committee of Correspondence for Baltimore County.



JOSEPH PALMER (1716-1788)

Of Massachusetts, who sent the first alarm after the Battle of Lexington.

Gentlemen
 Inclosed you have the alarming News of an
 engagement between the regulars & provincials fought
 with the utmost expedition as the provincial Convention
 is now sitting it will be expedient they should have notice
 before they adjourn
 Tuesday Night
 10 O'clock
 Yours &c
 J. Aquilino Hall Junr
 Jos Butler

MESSAGE FROM THE HARFORD COUNTY COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE,
 PART OF THE FIRST LEXINGTON ALARM (ITEM 4).

(7)

Fairfield 24th April 1775Gent^t

We inclose you the Copy of what we this day Rec^d from New Haven & beg you wou'd forward it to Stanford, we do not mean that any more of our[s] move, till we have further Accounts, but hold themselves in Readiness, & hope that our friends to the westward will do the same, we shall give you the earliest notice of every Account we Receive

I am in behalf of the Com^{ee}
Thad^s Burr, Clerk

To the Committee of Correspondance of Norwich — the above is a true
Copy

Gent^t: Immediately on the Receipt of the above we have forwarded the same with the Inclosed Intelligence to you and shall give you all the Intelligence we shall have as it Comes to hand to desire you to forward this same to greenwich—We are Gent^t:

To the Committee of Corres-
pondance at Stanford, the
above is a true Coppy

John Cannon
Thad^s Betts
Sam^{ll} Gruman

Stanford 24th April 1775

3 OClock in the Afternoon Gent. on Receipt of y^e Above Intelligence we forward it to you with all Speed & beg you will Immediately forward it to the Chairman of the Committee in New York or assist the Bearer in doing it, we shall take care to give any further Intelligence as it shall Come to hand—We are Gent^t

To the Comittee of Correspondance
at Greenwich

David Webb
Jn^o Hait Jun^r Committee
Dan^{ll} Gray
Jonathan Warring Jun^r

Greenwich April 25th 1775
3 OClock in the Morning

On Receit of the Above Intelligence we Immediately forward it with all Speed & shall take Care to give you any further Intelligence as it shall Come to hand

To the Chairman of the Committee
of Corespondance at New York

I am Sir y^r Humb^e Servt.
Amos Mead
in behalf of the Com^{ee}

The Above is a True Coppy of the
Papers forwarded to New York by Express
Tuesday 2 P: M: 25th April 1775

Allexander McDougall

rec^d the Intelligence sent herewith by Express Tuesday 10 oClock,
Even^g April 25, 1775—& forwarded immediately by

rec^d the above at New Brunswick
Ap^l 25. 1775 12 o'Clock at night
W^m Oake

Nathaniel Heard
Sam^l F. Parker
Jonathan Clawson
three of the Committee
of Woodbridge.

(8)

The inclosed Papers were received here this Evening at 10 oClock by
express and forwarded immediately to Annapolis—

Jn. Boyd Clk Com

Baltimore

April 27th 1775

What was the news contained in the third dispatch is unknown, for the first part of it is missing. The notes and endorsements (Nos. 9-11 below) begin with a small double sheet carrying only the request of the committee of Chester, Pennsylvania, to John McKinly of Wilmington that he forward the contents "with all expedition." McKinly promptly on a large single sheet, asked New Castle to forward all the contents more quickly than Head of Elk and Charles Town had been doing. The irritation of those gentlemen moved them to such speed that two and a half hours later the papers were out of Susquehanna Ferry toward Harford Town.

(9)

Chester Thursday 6 O'Clock

Gentⁿ

By Express we send you some further Intelligence, together with
a confirmation of the former news—

By the Bearer we have sent you a Packit, addressed to you, by
ye Philad^a Committee—forward the Contents with all expedition

Your hble Ser^{ts}

Fra^s Johnston three
Sam^l Fairlamb of the
David Cowpland Committee

John M^cKinley Esq^r
Chairman of the
pr Express Committee of
Wilmington

(10)

Wilmington Thursday 9 O'Clock P. M.
April 27th 1775

Gentlemen

I have just now rec^d the inclosed by Express which please to forward immediately towards Baltimore & Coll^o Washington in Virginia—I am told that at the head of Elk & Charlestown they take little or no Care to forward these Expresses which I wou^d have some Care or notice taken of

I am

Y^{rs} sincerely

Jn^o M^cKinly

To John Thompson Esq^r & others
the Committee at New Castle

What Mr M^cKinly says of his information that the Expresses are detain'd at Elk is by no means true as the papers are immediately forwarr'd by Tobias Rudulph to Mr. Patrick Hamilton of Cha^s Town whome I dare say Forwards them immediately to the Committee of Harford—

Tobias Rudulph

What Mr M^cKinly says with respect to the express being detained at Charles Town is by no means true as the papers are immediately forwarded to Harford

Patt. Hamilton

Rec^d at 11 oClock and Sent of in five Minuits
susq...[torn]anah ferry . . . John Rodgers

To John Thompson Esq^r & others
the Committee at

New Castle

(11)

Gentlemen 27th april 1775

I Rec^d the inclosed paper from the Norward and am Desired to forward them with all Speed imaginable to Baltimore Town

your Hbl Serv^t

John Rodgers

To
the Gentlemen of the Comittee of harford Town or Mr Joseph Stiles

The news told in the fourth dispatch is not known, but from the eagerness for speed that the endorsements show, it must have been of major importance.

(12)

Sir

Please forward the Inclosed with what speed the emergency of the
 affair requireth

From Sir Y^r Humble Serv^{ts}

Committee of New Castle

Friday [April 28, 1775] 1 O'Clock A. M.

Christiania bridg. this day before daybreak 3 oClock Came to
 hand and forward Immediately to H^d of Elk

P Sam^l Patterson

To Tobias Rudulph Esq^r

Friday . . . [torn] past 6 oClk

Rec'd at the head of Elk & immediately forwarded to
 Mr Patrick Hamilton in Charles Town who is requested to send them
 immediately to the Com^{ee} of Harford County

Tobias Rudulph

Charles Town 1/2 after 9 OClock.

Rec^d and immediately forward to Harford Town The
 Committee for Harford County are requested to forward the inclosed
 Papers with the greatest expedition to Baltimore Town 28th. April 1775

Patt. Hamilton

Harford Town 4 OClock Rec^d and Forw^d to Baltim^e

Isaac Webster

(13)

Harford County Aprill 28th 4 Oclock afternoon

Gentlemen

The above this moment Came to hand— We Forward it you—
 as quick as in our Power [o]n Behalf of the Committee

I am your ass: Friend

Isaac Webster

The fifth dispatch originated in New York and concerns the effect that the news from Lexington had in New York and Philadelphia. It begins with a double foolscap sheet copied from a copy and traces the course of the news south to Baltimore. With this go two large single sheets. One is a cover note from the Philadelphia committee; a second carries the endorsements from Wilmington to Baltimore. Both of these are copies made in Baltimore.

(14)

New York Ap^l 27. 1775.Gentⁿ

About 3 OClock this afternoon the Inhabitants *assembled and formed* a Battalion of 700 Men tolerably well equipped considering how recently a military Spirit has prevailed amongst us. They were then addressed in a very ~~polite~~ pathetic and suitable Manner on the present posture of Affairs—and the absolute Necessity of shutting up the port entirely, unless it be for inward bound and whaling Vessels &c. This was carried with but a very trifling Opposition we believe not half-a Dozen. It was then moved to wait on the Collector and take his Opinion on the Matter. According a Committee of five persons were appointed to precede the Main Body which consisted of about 1500 or 2,000 Men. When they got about half way to his House in the Bowry one of the Committee was sent before to inform of their Coming and the Occasion, when they arrivd opposite to his Gate, they halted, and the Committee waited on him and were received in a very polite Manner. They informed him of their Errand to which he replied, that if they insisted on the Keys he supposed Mr. Moore would deliver them. They then took Leave in a proper Manner & were thanked for their politeness. they returned to the Liberty Pole; and nominated 20 persons to be polled for Tomorrow, as Members to form a provincial Convention. After this they proceeded to the Custom House where the Keys were delivered them, by the Time this was executed it was near Night and they repaired to the place of Rendezvous and dispersed from thence to their respective Homes, all but those who were to mount Guard. Thus rest Matters just now.

But notwithstanding all this, their appears a greater Necessity for your Assistance than ever *as we are well assured* that an Express was sent off last Night by Water to General Gage letting him know that if he can spare about 1000 Troops this place can be kept in Order. This important Intelligence received from a Connection of the Army can there be a doubt then, but that some of us are destined by these bloody minded Wretches to Carnage and others to the most abject Slavery. We must therefore most earnestly entreat you to succour us as soon as possible; And that efficaciously too, or we shall not be able perhaps to make a Stand long. Depend upon it that every Engine will be set to work, in Order to raise a Clamour against the Friends of America. It ought to have been observed that a Body waited on all those who had Vessels loading and insisted that they should be unloaded &c &c. The propriety of this Measure, we make no Doubt will appear very evident to you, when it is considered how suddenly and powerfully, it must operate on our Oppressors, by sending near 25,000 Fishermen, it is supposed back on their Hands from Newfoundland provided all the Colonies will adopt the same Measure—We are hourly gaining further Intelligence of the

dark Designs of our internal and external Enemies. We are with the greatest Regard, Gent.

Your and America's most assured Friends.

Signed Isaac Sears
Hugh Hughs
Jn^o H. Kip
Jn^o Lamb.

N. B. It is thought that the sending off a light Vessel immediately for England with a true State of the Facts would serve the Cause, lest it be misrepresented, and the people of England made to believe that our people were the Aggressors This Requisition was in Consequence of Advice received from the General that he would furnish them with a Regiment if they required it. N. B. Let this be forwarded from town to Town with the utmost Expedition to the remotest of the Colonies especially to Virginia.

A true Copy from the Original

Joseph Read
Chairman
April 29. 1775.

Newcastle 29 April 9 in the Eveng. Rec^d & forwarded by us

John Thompson
Z. V. Leuvenigh
Stephen Spencer
Com^{ee}

Christiana Bridge Saturday Night 29 April 11 o'Clock, the above Express came to Hand and forwarded to Tobias Rudulph Esq^r Hd. of Elk in Maryland to be forwarded immediately night & Day—Sam^l Patterson, one of the Com^{ee} of Correspondence. To be forwarded to Balt^o Town & Virginia &c.—Head of Elk Sunday Morning 4 o'Clock. rec^d & forwarded to M^r patrick Hamilton—Tobias Rudulph—Charles Town Sunday Morning half after 6 o'Clock 30 April 1775. rec^d & forwarded to Harford Town by patrick Hamilton, Tho^s Hughes, John Hamilton—Balt^o Sunday Evening 8 O'Clock 30 April 1775. Rec^d & forwarded to Annapolis Rob^t Purviance, John McClure

(15)

Phil^a april 29th 1775

Gent

The inclosed came by express about an hour ago, we have thought it advisable to forward the Letter to you—Our Brethren at New York seem to have two Objects in view—to stop all provisions and supplies for the Army at Boston & the Fisheries and to ask our assistance in case the General should send a Regiment to New York. We have already made ample provision for the former exigence by stopping all trade to

those colonies, who have not acceded to the resolutions of the Congress among which Newfoundland and its dependents are included: As to the other part we are forming as fast as possible into a military array before which it will be impossible to render them any Effectual service In the mean time it is proposed that some of our Committee set out immediatly for New York, where they will be able to procure the most Authentic intelligence which shall be immediately communicated to you—together with the farther resolutions as we may come into on so important and interesting an Occasion We are Gent with much respect and Regard your very Hble. Ser^{ts}

Jos. Reid
John Nixon
Geo Clymer
James Mears
Jon^a B Smyth
Tho^s Barclay
Sam^l Meredith
John Benezette

P. S. The committee are unanimously of opinion, that all Supplies for the army at Boston and the fisheries ought to be immediately Stoppd—We have detained a Vessel going to the latter after being CLEARED and on the point of sailing

(16)

Please to forward this or a copy with all due expedition
Wilmington Saturday 7 O'Clock P M 29th Ap^l 1775
New Castle county then recd and forwarded

by Jn^o McKinly Chairmⁿ

Head of Elk Sunday morning
4 oClock Ap^l 30th recd and forwarded to Mr Patrick Hamilton at
Cha^s Town

P Tobias Rudolph

Cha^s Town Sunday morning Ap^l 30th half after 6 o'Clock recd and forwarded to Harford Town by

Patt Hamilton
Tho^s Hughes
John Hamilton

Baltimore

Sunday 8 o'Clock P. M. recd and forwarded to Annapolis by

Your Hble Ser^{ts}
John McClure
Robert Purviance

The sixth and last of these dispatches brought from Hartford, Connecticut, to Baltimore the news of the threat to coastwise

shipping. It consists of two single sheets, and when it was found, the two were held together with sealing wax. What adds much to its value is that it is entirely original: there is no copying anywhere in it, and, of course, the names of the endorsers are all signatures.

(17)

Hartford Wednesday 3.^oClk

Dr Sir

I send this express to inform you and all that have Vessels, that by Advice this instant received General Gage has Ordered all ye Vessels yt. may be found on ye. Coast of New England, to be immediately seized for ye. Kings Use. You will communicate this intelligence to every one concerned, that they may take ye. needful precautions accordingly

I am Sir your very Ready friend—
Thos^s Mumford

To Nat Shaw Jun^r

New Haven thursday 2 oClk Morn

Gentⁿ the above we Rec^d by express from M^rRich^d alsop of Middletown, and desire you to forward with all convenient Speed to the the [*sic*] Westward y^t all needful precautions may be taken by y^e owners of Vessels for their Security

to y^e Gentⁿ Merch^{ts}
in Milford

I am Gentⁿ
your h^{le} Sert^t
Peter Colt

To y^e Gentⁿ Merchants in Fairfield Stratford thursday Morn^s forwarded by Jehu Brooks

To y^e Gentⁿ Merchants in Norwalk forwarded from Fairfield 11 ^oClk

To the Gentlemen Merchants in Stanford forwarded from Norwalk 1 oClock

To the Gentlemen Merchant in Greenwich forwarded from Stanford by
— — — John Hait Jun^r
Daniel Gray

To the Gentlemen merchants in Ry Forward from Greenwich by Titus Mead

The above was received at Rye at 6 ^oClock Thursday afternoon and forwarded by Eben^r Haviland

New York Committee Chamber 28th April 1775

Received Fryday 12 ^hClock and forwarded, by Order of the
Committe 1 P M

Isaac Low, Chairmⁿ

Elizabeth Town Committee Chamb.

rec^d Friday 4 oClock P. M. & forwarded by order of the Committee
Stephⁿ Crane

Received at 6 P. M. Woodbridge 28th April, 1775
Nathaniel Heard

Perth Amboy 28th 1775. Rec^d at 7 o'Clock in the afternoon
and forwarded by Jona. Deare of the Com^e or Correspondence

N^w Brunswick Ap^l 29th 1775 6 OClock morn^g
Forwarded by W^m Oake of the Com^e Correspondence

Princeton Ap^l 29. 1775 1 OClock P. M. Rec^d & forwarded by
Jona D Sergeant of the Committee of Somerset.

Trenton 29th April 1775 recd & forw^d to Bordentown Abm Hunt

Saturday Evening 29th Apr^l
Rec^d and forwarded by
Jo^s Borden.

Sunday Morn^g 10 oClock April 30th Rec^d. and forwarded by Order of
Committee of Correspondence of Burlington
Colin Campbell Jam^s Sterling

(18)

April 30th 1775

Sunday Evening 7 OClock rec^d and forwarded by
W^m Bradford Committee
Tho^s Pryor for forward-
Jos: Dean ing Express

April 30th 1775

Sunday Night 10 OClock Rec^d & forwarded by
Sam^l Fairlamb
one of the Committee of Correspondence

Wilmington New Castle County Monday 7 O'Clock A M 1st May 1775
Rec^d & forwarded by Jn^o McKinly Chairman Comm^{ee}

Christiania bridg[e] mondy 10 oClock A. M recd and forward to
Colln Cooch Esq^r to forward it to Tob^s Rudulph Esq^r to forward it
night and day to Virginia &
Sam^l Patterson one of Committee
Correspondence

Monday Head of Elk 1 o'Clock receiv'd and immediately forwarded to
1 May Mr Patt: Hamilton to be forwarded T Rudulph

1st May 75. Charles Town Half after 3 OClock rec^d and immediately
forwarded to Harford Patt. Hamilton

May the 1st 1775 Harford Town OClock rece^d and Forwarded
to Baltimore by Aquila Hall one of the Committee of
Correspon^e

May 2^d 1775 half after 11^oClock A. M. Rec^d & forwarded by Express
W. Smith Vice Chairmⁿ

This letter to be forwarded immediately to Baltimore.

Altogether these manuscript discoveries make an impressive total. There is the original from which the only other long form of the Watertown alarm was copied, with endorsements and enclosures that carry the news to Baltimore. There is the Wallingford alarm from which the only other long form, Mr. Scheide's, was copied, and there are endorsements again that carry the story to Baltimore. Of the third alarm the message is lacking, but the Society has a full set of endorsements. There are the originals of the letters sent from New York and from Philadelphia to tell of the martial activities taking place in New York, with notes and endorsements. And, lastly, there is the dispatch from Hartford, Connecticut, warning of the danger to coastwise shipping from Gen. Gage's order. This, too, comes down to Baltimore. It would be difficult to gather a more interesting sequence of historical manuscripts.

THOMAS JEFFERSON IN ANNAPOLIS,

NOVEMBER 25, 1783—MAY 11, 1784

Edited by EDITH ROSSITER BEVAN

Frost had already touched the mountains of the Blue Ridge when Thomas Jefferson, delegate from Virginia, left Monticello on the 16th of October for Trenton, New Jersey, where the United States in Congress was to convene on November 4th. Seated beside him in the phaeton was his eldest daughter, Martha, (Patsy) aged eleven, who would be placed in school in Philadelphia. Bob, his servant, rode an extra horse which was interchangeable with the pair.

They crossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry and spent the night of the 26th at Morris' "Catauba King"¹ at Fredericktown, passed through "Tawney-town" the next day and arrived in Philadelphia on the 29th.

Jefferson was present at the opening of Congress which adjourned the same day to assemble in Annapolis on November 26th. The intervening period he spent in Philadelphia and carefully recorded in his Expense Account having his violin "mended," purchasing a chess board for thirty-five shillings and books amounting to nearly £30 which accompanied him to Annapolis. He arrived there on November 25th, having spent the previous night in Baltimore. Other delegates were not as punctual and it was not until the 13th of December that a quorum was present. With leisure on his hands this was probably the time that Jefferson made the pen and ink drawing of the recently completed house of Matthias Hammond (The Hammond-Harwood House), which is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Desiring more privacy than George Mann's Hotel afforded, Jefferson moved to the home of "Mrs. Gheeseland" on New Year's Day where he lodged for two months. The first of March

¹ Probably phonetic spelling. Capt. Jacob Marres kept an Inn in Frederick in 1786.

found him and his young colleague and disciple, Colonel James Monroe, comfortably settled in a small house they rented from Mr. Dulany, with Partout, a French chef in attendance. Their frugal household expenses, which they shared, were scrupulously recorded by Jefferson and as their spectacular increase in "provisions" the last week in April—£6: 16: 7, and 30/s for extra cooking, coincided with Washington's stop in Annapolis on his way to Philadelphia to attend the meeting of the Order of the Cincinnati, we surmise he was entertained on a lavish scale by his fellow Virginians. Jefferson refers to this visit in a letter to Martin Van Buren in 1824:² "he sat with me till after midnight, conversing almost exclusively on that subject" (the Order of the Cincinnati).

On the 7th of May Jefferson was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to France. He sold his books and household belongings to Col. Monroe, settled his various Annapolis accounts and, collecting the balance due him as delegate to Congress, he left the city on May 11th, by ferry to Rock Hall, en route to Philadelphia where Patsy joined him and they started on their long journey to Paris.

From the Records of the Tenth Continental Congress we know that Jefferson was an acknowledged leader, serving on all the important committees and drafting many of the now historical papers—The Order of the Ceremony attending General Washington's resignation as Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United Colonies which took place in the Senate Chamber on December 23, 1783, and the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain which was ratified by Congress on January 14, 1784.

Jefferson did not keep a diary and the many letters he wrote during his stay in Annapolis were for the most part highly impersonal. It is only from his meticulous record of daily expenditures, including even his tips which he lists as "charity," that we can picture a truly human Mr. Jefferson—who bought cotton stockings and "galoches" from the local tradesmen and ate oysters and asparagus in season—a man who fed his horses well and rode them often—a gentleman who enjoyed a quiet game of

² *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Andrew L. Lipscomb, editor. (Washington, 1903) XVI, 63. Jefferson had previously visited Annapolis in May, 1766. While still a law student he attended a meeting of the Lower House and wrote an amusing and derisive account of the proceedings in a letter to his cousin, John Page, which is quoted in *The Archives of Maryland*, LXI, p. xv-xvi.

chess and found relaxation in his violin and solace and companionship in his books.

A copy of the expense account of Jefferson during his stay in Annapolis has generously been made available by the Massachusetts Historical Society, the fortunate possessor of the Thomas Jefferson Coolidge collection of papers of the great Virginian.

Maryland & Pennsylvania currency

1783. * * * *

Nov. 23. pd. expenses to & at Newport £2-16
25. pd barber at Baltimore 1/10
 repd expenses to Annapolis to mr. Mercer ³ £4-0-8
 do to mr Madison ⁴ £3-5-6— do Dr. Williamson 21/4
 pd shoeing horse 6/4
28. borrowed of mr Jas Madison his bill on mr Ambler 333 1/3
Doll.
28. delivd sd bill to Mark Pringle ⁵ to sell for me in Baltimore.
 recd in part thereof from him £14.
29. pd for apples 1/3
30. pd for a whip 17/9

Dec. 2. pd for yd of flannel 3/3—apples 22d.
 8. pd for paper 6/.—10. mendg watch 13/9—gunpowder 4/2
11. pd for shoes 20/—clothesbrush 3/6
15. pd for combs 10/—a ton of hay £6.—1 bushel corn 4/
 gave waggoner 22d—
 took posin of Frazer ⁶: stable @ £ 15. a year.
17. borrowed of Colo Monroe ⁷ £17-5.—18. corn 4/6
20. pd for pr galoches 17/6
27. pd for inkpot 1/—Davidson ⁸ for sundries 51/
29. pd for sundries 7/—1 quire gilt paper 4/6
 sealg wax 3/—oats 11/3
 recd by mr Williams ⁹ from mr Pringle £56-5 in part for bill
 of excha.

^a John Francis Mercer, 1759-1821. Delegate to Congress from Virginia. He married Sophia Sprigg, daughter of Richard Sprigg of "Strawberry Hill," Annapolis, in 1785. Governor of Maryland, 1801-1803.

⁴ James Madison, 1751-1836. Fourth President of the U. S.

⁵ Merchant of Baltimore. Member of the committee appointed to complete the fortifications of Fort McHenry in 1799. D. 1819.

⁶ Probably Joshua Frazer, b. 1722, d. after 1797. Vestry-man, St. Anne's Church, Annapolis.

⁷ James Monroe, 1758-1831. Fifth President of the U. S.

* John Davidson, merchant of Annapolis, Common Councilman in 1783 and member of the committee appointed to provide suitable accommodations for delegates to Congress. The Davidson Ledger for 1780-'83 is at the Maryland Historical Society.

⁹ James Williams. Rehabilitated Tory merchant of Annapolis. Consignee of the

30. borrowed of George Mann ¹⁰ £9.7.6. bank bill
inclosd. to Saml House Philada for books £9-7-6-. bank bill
recd by mr Williams of mr Pringle 54-15 balce for bill
pd for corn 58/4
31. pd John Brewer ¹¹ keepg horses £15-2-3
pd for sundries 2/6
pd George Mann in full to this day exclusive £18-13
pd Colo Monroe £17-14-6 balce on settlemt to this day.
- - - - -

1784.

- Jan. 1. paid mrs Gheeseland ¹² to this day for myself at 13-2-6
note this is a guinea a week or 5/ a day for lodging and
2/6 a day for wood
3. pd for corn £2-16-3. charge 14/1 of it to Colo Monroe
4. pd mrs Gheeseland for servt to New Year's day £4-7-6
note this was at half a guinea a week
began this day to dine with mrs Gheeseland.
5. pd Plane the barber 12/6—sundries 9/6 doorlock 15/
pd Wm Cole the taylor for Jos. Dowson ¹³ £2-16.
pd do for himself 38/8
7. pd Davidson for sundries £3-5-5
pd for 4 shirts for Bob.¹⁴ 30/0
8. pd barber to Jan. 1. 13/
pd for little house £3-15. charge 37/6 of it to Colo Monroe
10. pd for shoeing horse 7/6—Shoemaker 3/9
- 14 gave Bob to buy 2 blankets 30/
22. gave in Charity 1/8
26. pd for bookshelves 27/6
30. pd for 3 bush. corn 18.—31. for 2 bush. do 11/
- Feb. 1. pd barber for 1 month 20/
3. pd postage of books from Philade⁻ 3/9
Bob begin with a barber @ 15/ per month
5. pd mrs Gheeseland for 31. days viz to last of Jan. as follows
- | | | |
|-----------------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| lodgs breakfast | @ 5/. | } = 12/6 pr day [£] 19-7-6 |
| dinner --- | @ 2/6 | |
| wood --- | @ 2/6 | |
| servt - - | @ 2/6 | |
- pd her for makg 6 cravats 6/ - pd for a chrystel 2/6

cargo of tea burned in the "Peggy Stewart" in 1774. Mayor of Annapolis, 1794, 1801, 1805.

¹⁰ Mann's Hotel was the best in Annapolis. Mann (1753-1795) served the dinner which was tendered Gen. Washington on December 22, 1793.

¹¹ Kept a tavern and lodging house on Cornhill St. D. 1788.

¹² Probably Mrs. Mary Wilkins Ghiselin, widow of Judge Reverdy Ghiselin of Anne Arundel County Court.

¹³ Merchant of Annapolis who moved to Cambridge where he died in 1791.

¹⁴ Jefferson's servant.

9. pd shoeing horse 3/9
10. pd for barber's apparatus for Bob. 30/ —chrystel 2/6
13. pd for half a quire line paper 1/10½ shavg box for Bob 7/6
pd towards exp. Colo Monroe's servt to Virginia 37/6
- Feb. 14. pd washing 30/—ribbon 2/
recd from mr Amber (as treasurer) B. Harrison's¹⁵ bill on
Holker¹⁶ for 433½ Dollars.
17. sold the sd bill to mr Stone,¹⁷ recd 100 Doll. in part
bot B. Harrison's bill on Holker in favr Colo Monroe for 96.
Doll. & pd. him 50 Doll. in part.
18. inclosed the bill for 96 Doll. last mentd to Saml. House to
lodge proceeds in American bank.
21. paid for 7 pecks corn 10/6
21. paid mr Hall¹⁸ for a ton of hay £6.
22. gave Bob for expences to Baltimore 22/6
23. pd for 1 doz. sticks sealing wax 12/
25. moved to mr Dulany's¹⁹ house
28. pd carpenter 3/9
- Mar. 1. pd for sundries from Feb. 24. to this day for myself £13-9
pd in same time for household expences £15.1.2. charge half to
Col. Monroe
2. pd mrs Gheesland in full from Feb. 1 to 25. as follows
lodg.s breakft 5/ dinner 2/6 wood 5/ servt 2/6 = 15/ per day,
so paid for 25 days £18-15
on settlemt acct with Colo Monroe to this day I owe him 6-7-8
pd for candles 2/6
4. borrowed of Colo. Monroe 25½ Doll.
pd Monroe of the livery stable to this day, viz 3.horses 1.
D.
month 36½
I still owe him for that time 3½
6. recd from B. Harrison junr. his bill on Holker for 333½ D. on
account of Treasury for my allowance as delegate.
pd for candles 3/4
recd of Colo. Stone in part for bill sold 17th supra 100.D.
pd Colo Monroe in full the two balances of 2^d & 4th £15-17-6

¹⁵ Benjamin Harrison, 1740-1791. Governor of Virginia, 1782-1785.

¹⁶ John Holker, 1745-1822. Consul for France and agent for the French Marines in Philadelphia.

¹⁷ John Hoskins Stone, 1745-1804. Served with distinction in the Revolutionary War. Governor of Maryland three terms, 1794-1797.

¹⁸ Probably John Hall, 1729-1797, prominent Annapolitan lawyer; delegate to Congress, 1783-'84. His country estate was "Vine Yard," Anne Arundel Co.

¹⁹ Not identified. Probably on the Walter Dulany estate, now part of the Naval Academy grounds. This Tory property was confiscated during the Revolution. Mary Dulany, Walter's widow, was allowed to buy back the fine old residence and lived there at this time.

7. borrowed Colo. Monroe 4/2—gave in Charity 4/2
remember to credit him half 4 bottles wine from Mann's in Nov.
pd Chalmers²⁰ for silver cover to ivory book £3.
 8. pd Dowson for 6. knives & forks 15/ tureen 8/4
pd for a cord of hiccory £3—cutting it 4/
 10. pd Monroe of the livery stable in full 50/—his horseler 2/6
 11. pd pr of shoes for Bob 12/6—6 lb candles 15/—6 lb coffee 9/
 13. pd for penknife 2/6—3 tablecloths £5—15—6—7½ th lb. refd
sugr 21 4½
pd for letter paper—2 quire 2d—apples 7/6
 14. settled household exp. with Colo Monroe & recd balance
£6—2—10
pd makg 2 pr sheets 8/ do 12 towels 12/
 15. pd for 7½ bushels corn 45/
- 1784
- Mar. 16. recd of Colo Stone balce of my bill 133½ Doll
pd necessities viz. Clarke²¹ a 3 qt bowl 27/6. 2.qt do 20/
cruets 20/
Shoemaker 1½ doz. shal plates 11/3 ½ doz
deep do 4/2
Graham's 2 butter boats 5/
Biggs's 2 ale glasses 2/6
Randall's²² 2 table cloths £4.
- 17 gave in charity 22/6 do for Colo Monroe 15/
 18. pd washg woman in full 37/6—I am to give 5/ a week
pd for 2 doz. eggs 2/6
 19. pd 9 lb beef @ 8d.6/—cord hiccory 40/ cording 1/ carting
3/ cutting 4/
 20. pd a turkey 7/6 7 pullets 14/
delvd Harrison's bill for 333½ D. on Holker to mr James
Maury²³ to negotiate, send me 100 D. & place balce in bank
 21. pd making 5 table cloths 10/
 22. sent Chevalr D'annours²⁴ for 12 spoons £17—16—6 (househd
exp.)
househd exp. 1/10½

²⁰ John Chalmers. Silversmith of Annapolis who in 1783 minted the rare coinage stamped "I. Chalmers." (Specimens at the Maryland Historical Society.) Common Councilman of Annapolis, 1783, and member of the committee appointed to inquire into suitable accommodations for delegates to Congress.

²¹ Stephen Clark. Advertises his book store and circulating library in *Maryland Gazette* and "sells a great many other articles of store goods too tedious to mention."

²² John Randall, d. 1826. Merchant of Annapolis. Served with the Maryland Line as State Clothier and as a commissary. Appointed collector of the port of Annapolis by President Washington. Mayor of Annapolis in 1813, 1815, 1817.

²³ Son of the Rev. James Maury, whose school Jefferson attended when a boy.

²⁴ Chevalier Charles François Adrien La Paulinier d'Annemours. b. circa 1742, Normandy, France, d. circa 1809, New Orleans, La. Appointed French consul for the State of Maryland, 1778; consul for Baltimore, 1784-1793, when he retired to

23. pd houshd exp. 6 cabbages 2/6 a peck potatoes 1/6 a duck $22\frac{1}{2}$ ^d
22/2
a pullet $22\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ cord oak 12/6 cordg 5d cartg 1/6
14 bush oats £2. 12. 6 (stable exp.)
pd for sweepg chimney 3/9 5 wine glasses 3/4
pd househd exp. mustard 1 $10\frac{1}{2}$ 4 punch glasses 12/ } 24/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
2 small tureens 8/9 3 lb. rice 2/
25. borrowed of Colo. Monroe 35/
pd barber for the months of Feb. & Mar. 40/
pd houshd exp. 2 doz. eggs 2/
26. 4 yds oznabr. 5/4 6 lb brown sug. 5/7 5. qts. molasses 6/3 } £ s d
1 lb flour 6d. yest 1/ } 2.7. 2
27. 3 doz. bottles 24/ $\frac{1}{2}$ gross corks 2/6 }
pd Register of land office²⁵ for Fras. Hopkinson.²⁶ Philade.
22/6
pd hhd exp. 3 lb rice 2/—28. fish 1/3—29. turkey 6/
settled with Colo Monroe & recd balance £18.12
30. gave in charity 15/
pd for great seal to 2 papers for F. Hopkinson 25/6
pd hhd exp. 13 lb sugar 30/4 wood 27/6 cordg etc } £6.8.4
12 dishes £2.11. fish etc. 15/ oysters 2/6 2 doz eggs 2/ }
corkscrew 5/. rope for halters 5/
- Apr. 1. pd hhd exp. turkey 7/6—basket 1/3 10 bush corn 50/ 3 lb
candles 7/6 = 3.6.6
lent mr. Bannister £3—10
2. pd hhd exp. 1000 nails 18/9 4lb butter 10/
3. lent mr Bannister £3
4. settled with Colo Monroe balance due me £4—15—9.
recd from him £4—8—3. still due 7/6
pd household exp. 14/6
- Apr. 5. pd shoeing horse $22d\frac{1}{2}$ 5 qts bottled cherries 10/ milk 1/1
6. pd Partout²⁷ balance of provn bill 25/—advanced do 16/8
recd from James Maury 115. Doll. & Turnbull & Co' note for
200 D. for Harrison's exch. on Holker (see Mar. 20)
he has pd out of it to Dudley for spectacles for Jas Madison $13\frac{2}{3}$
to McPherson for a year's prices current $4\frac{2}{3}$
to Boirod & Gaillard for books 14/6
7. pd for gloves 4/—for 5 pr cotton stockings £3—5 inkglass 1/
pd Brewer for James Bannister a tavern acct £2—15—9

his estate "Belmont" on the Harford Road. There in 1792 he erected the first monument to Christopher Columbus in the New World. "Belmont" was occupied for many years by the Samuel Ready School for Orphan Girls. Now used as the Community House of Sears Roebuck & Co.

²⁵ John Callahan, 1749-1803. Register of the Land Office, Annapolis, for over twenty-five years.

²⁶ Francis Hopkinson, 1737-1791. Signer of the Declaration of Independence for New Jersey. Poet, composer, artist and writer of political pamphlets of Philadelphia.

²⁷ French chef employed by Jefferson and Monroe.

- Isaiah Meade for do. travelling exp. from Baltimore 17/6
 James West²⁸ for do. horse hire £3-7-6
 pd Chalmers for martingal rings & buckle 15/
 pd Shaw²⁹ cabinet work £4-2-6
- pd hhd exp. vz decanters etc. £2 pd baker 150 loaves bread 3.15[£]
 8. pd for a China can 7/6—2 decanters 12/6 freight (hhd exp.)
 5/9
- pd for cyder 1/
 9. enclosed mr Curson by mr Mercer for liquors £12.
 9. pd Wm McMurray subscription for 2 maps 20/ am to pay 30/
 more on delivery.
10. pd sundries hhd ex. 2/10½ —martingal 2/6
 settlemt wth Col. Monroe (includg Mann's bill) due to me
 £12-17-3
12. pd 2 bush. potatoes 15/—charity 1/
 13. recd of Colo Monroe balce above £12-5. which was 22/3 more
 yn balce
15. pd houshold expences £1-11-7
 pd Partout provision bill 29/- advanced do 31/
 pd for pomatum 2/6 Bob shirts 2/6
14. pd for a turkey 7/6
 15. pd household exp. £1-14-4½
 16. pd do 13/6
 17. pd Shoemaker for do £1.15.2
19. pd barber teaching Bob 2½ months 35/ owe him 2/6
 pd for findg hores 7/6
20. pd cord hiccory 25/ cording & carting 4/
 inclosed to mrs Hopkinson³⁰ draught on Turnbull Maimie &
 Co. for 100 D.
22. pd for 2 lathes 10/—candles 6/6
 23. pd 5 qts milk 2/6—asparagus 8d.
 pd 10 bush. corn 52/6
24. pd. for cyder 1/6
 25. recd 100 D. from J. F. Mercer for balce of Turnbull & co's note
 pd hhd ex. 5/
26. pd do £-2-10-8- charity^d 19½-½ quire paper 1/3
 27. pd hhd exp 21/10 charity 1/
28. pd 3 halters 15/ Partout kitchen furniture 4-6- wood 25/6
^{£ s d}
 provns 6. 16. 7

²⁸ B. 1739, d. 1812. Merchant of Annapolis who moved to Baltimore where he died.

²⁹ John Shaw, 1745-1829. Noted cabinet maker of Annapolis, who made the chairs and desk used in the Senate Chamber.

³⁰ Mother of Francis Hopkinson and widow of Judge Thomas Hopkinson, with whom Patsy Jefferson boarded in Philadelphia.

30. charity $22\frac{1}{2}$ ^d—3 quire paper 7/6
 recd from Treasurer of Virginia Harrison's bill on Morris³¹
 $333\frac{1}{3}$ D.

1784

- May. 1. pd for 1 lb butter 2/
 2. settled with Colo Monroe & recd balance £9-7-6
 pd Rachael for washing to end of April 30/
 pd servt for cooking 30/ ferrge Londontown 2/6
 gave servt 3/3—oranges 16d.—post rider 2/6—powder 6d
 baker 155 loaves £3,17,6 coffee 7/
 inclosed Harrison's bill on Morris for $333\frac{1}{3}$ Doll. to F. Hopkinson
 4. bacon . 11 lb 11/
 5. side of veal 24 lb @ 10d 20/ 6. candles 7/6
 7. 1 lb butter 2/
 Le Bas the barber for April 20/—Adam expences 15/
 8. milk 2/ pd Coe the taylor 27/9
 9. household exp. 25/5
 10. recd of the Intendant of Maryland³² to be repaid $233\frac{1}{3}$ Dol.
 pd Dr. Murray³³ in full £35-4
 pd Mann in full $31\frac{1}{3}$ Dol.
 pd Partout provision bill £18.7.7

- his wages from Apr. 1 to May 11. @ 30 quineas a year $\begin{smallmatrix} £ & s \\ 5. & 18 \end{smallmatrix}$
 pd for mending clothes 7/6—shoeing horses 22/6
 11. balance due me as delegate of Virga to this day is $407\frac{1}{3}$ D.
 drew order of Treasurer to pay $407\frac{1}{3}$ D. to J. Madison.
 deductg price of 2 pr spectacles $27\frac{1}{3}$ D. I still owe him $68\frac{2}{3}$ D.
 pd for straps 5/—washg 10/ barber 10/ milk 2/
 sold Colo Monroe my books & household things at Annap.
 he is to pay mr Dulany my house rent £5-6-9- $\frac{1}{2}$
 and Frazer stable rent £6.
 recd his bill on Pringle for £47-10-7
 also another bill on do for 33. Dollars.
 this leaves him in my debt $20\frac{2}{3}$ Doll.
 inclosed the bill of £47-10-7 to mr Curson to pay
 balance I owe him for the pretended[?] James Bannister
 inclosed him also the bill for 33. Doll. to pay portage
 of my things to Philadelphia & remit balce to me.

³¹ Robert Morris, 1734-1806. Born in England, he came to Philadelphia where he built up a large mercantile business. Signer of the Declaration of Independence for Pennsylvania and so-called "Treasurer of the Revolutionary War."

³² Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, 1723-1790. Intendent of Revenue or State Treasurer of Maryland from 1781-1785 when the office expired.

³³ Dr. James Murray, 1739-1819. A leading physician in Annapolis who served as surgeon in the Continental army. Jefferson wrote Madison on January 1, 1784, "I have had very ill health since I have been here and am getting rather lower than otherwise." Paul Leicester Ford, *Thomas Jefferson* (Boston, 1904).

- pd for padlock 2/6
gave Colo Monroe's servants 15/
left with C. Thomson ³⁴ as specimen of coins 1.8.D.
pd Middleton ³⁵ passage to Rockhall 10. D.
left Annapolis
gave sailors at Rockhall. 8/4.
12. pd entent^t at Spencer's Rockhall 31/
pd do for reins for Phaeton 8/4

³⁴ Charles Thomson, 1729-1824. Secretary of Congress, 1774-1789.

³⁵ Joseph Middleton of Annapolis and Kent Co. d. 1787. Mentioned by Lord Adam Gordon, an English officer who visited Annapolis in 1765. "Middleton keeps a good House, and is provided with good Boats, for Men, Horses and Carriages." After the turn of the century the home of John Randall on Randall St. and Market Square, Annapolis, was converted into an inn for sea-faring men and known as Middleton's Hotel.

HOW BEN BUTLER SAVED "OLD IRONSIDES"

By LOUIS TAYLOR MERRILL

Although the redoubtable General Benjamin F. Butler was a yachtsman and a lover of the sea, his naval exploits in the Civil War are subordinated to the spectacularism of his stormy administration at New Orleans and other picturesque and arresting episodes of his military and political activities ashore. Through no fault of his own, he was nearly drowned when the ship taking him to New Orleans with his troops ran aground on the Hatteras shoals and narrowly escaped sinking.¹ Butler's final naval exploit, of trying to blow up Fort Fisher by running a hulk heavily loaded with gunpowder in near the fort, did not accomplish its purpose, and with that explosion his military career blew up, too. It reminded Lincoln of a funny story;² but Grant, peeved by the failure to take the fort, demanded and secured the general's recall from active command. At the beginning of the war, however, Butler was credited with saving the historic old frigate, *Constitution*, from danger of Confederate capture.

Amid cheers, the blare of bands, and the waving of hats and tear-dampened handkerchiefs, Butler started off with the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment from Boston on the anniversary of Lexington and Concord in April, 1861. Ordered to proceed to Washington, by way of Baltimore, they arrived at Philadelphia to be confronted there with extras screaming the news that the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment had received its baptism of fire while marching through Baltimore streets.

"Old Cockeye," his dander roused, determined to proceed to the scene of the mob attack, and "if they fired upon him from

¹ William Bailey of Quincy, Mass., cook on the disabled *Mississippi*, says Butler's bravery and resourcefulness on this occasion saved 1600 men. Bailey's reminiscences in *Boston Globe*, April 22, 1906.

² Reminiscences of Colonel Joseph W. Porter in *Boston Globe*, June 13, 1897.

any house, he would raze that house to the ground, by the help of God, or leave his bones and ashes in the streets of the city.”³

Presently, however, told that burning bridges would make his passage by rail precarious, he decided to change his route and go by way of Annapolis. “I propose to occupy the town and hold it open as a means of communication,” he notified Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts. “I have then but to advance by a forced march of thirty miles to reach the capital [Washington] in accordance with the orders I at first received.”⁴ The governor was urged immediately to send him a supporting battery known as Cook’s “Flying Artillery.” The “flying artillery” was wingless without horses to draw the guns, however. The Massachusetts adjutant general was pulled out of bed in the middle of the night and sent scurrying from one end of Boston to the other to recruit steeds. Horses were taken from a horse-car barn to fill out the needed quota. Even then, lack of equipment kept the battery from moving to the general’s support.⁵

Butler was moving ahead by train towards Perryville at the mouth of the Susquehanna river, whence he proposed to proceed to the Maryland capital by a railroad ferry. After being up nearly all night switching his plans at Philadelphia, the tired commander was snoozing in the train. Suddenly it jolted to a stop. “Man overboard!” somebody yelled. The general woke, rubbed his eyes, and looked out to see a deserter who had jumped from the cars running across the fields. Others set out in pursuit, but the fleeing man scooted too fast. The bugle sounded recall, the whistle tooted, and they chuffed off again.⁶

Near Perryville they disembarked, with the Salem Zouaves, best drilled company in the regiment, acting as skirmishers. A fight was apprehended to take the ferry boat *Maryland*. It was feared Confederates had captured her with a large force.⁷ This report

³ Narrative of S. M. Felton, president of the Philadelphia & Wilmington railroad which carried Butler’s command, in William Schouler, *History of Massachusetts in the Civil War* (Boston, 1868-71), I, 103.

⁴ Butler to Governor Andrew, April 20, 1861, *Private and Official Correspondence of General Benjamin F. Butler During the Period of the Civil War*, edited by Jessie Ames Marshall (Norwood, Mass., 1917), I, 19.

⁵ Henry Greenleaf Pearson, *John A. Andrew* (Boston, 1904), I, 192.

⁶ Benjamin F. Butler, *Butler’s Book, Autobiography and Personal Reminiscences*, (Boston, 1892), 189.

⁷ “We were told that the ferryboat at Perryville had been seized by the Rebels and occupied by Rebel troops, eight or nine regiments strong.” Butler speech at Eighth Massachusetts Regiment reunion, August 2, 1869, in Butler’s *Correspondence*, I, 25.

was false. The *Maryland* was commandeered without opposition. The ferry captain, however, was suspected of being a "rebel" sympathizer, and according to reminiscences of a Salem Zouave, was thought to be giving wrong pulls on the engine room bell rope from the pilot house. Butler put a guard over him with orders to shoot if he erred in trying to head toward a wrong destination or to run the boat aground.⁸

They steamed through the darkness toward the wharf of the Naval Academy, thinking they were unnoticed. But ashore bugles blew, drums beat, lights went on, rockets swished skyward. Butler was not sure but that "rebels" had captured Annapolis. A boat was heard stealthily rowing out toward the ferry.

"What steamer is that?" the boat hailed. There was no answer. The challenge was repeated but again not answered. The boat seemed to be turning away. Butler then halted the craft.

"Come on board!" he called. His order was not immediately complied with. "Come on board," he thundered, "or I'll fire into you!"⁹

A uniformed officer clambered to the deck. Two soldiers grabbed him and held him fast. Butler feared he was hostile. The boarding naval officer, for his part, had feared the ferry was loaded "with a lot of Baltimore toughs" who had come to capture the Naval Academy and the old frigate *Constitution*, then aground at her moorings where she had been used as a training ship for midshipmen.¹⁰

At daybreak Commodore Blake, the Academy commandant, visited the *Maryland*. "The old man," according to Butler's account, "burst into tears and shed them like rain for a moment, and then broke out:

" 'Thank God, thank God! Won't you save the *Constitution*?

" 'Yes, that is just what I am here for.'

" 'Are those your orders? Then the old ship is safe.'

" 'I have no orders,' said I; 'I am carrying on war now on my own hook; I cut loose from my orders when I left Philadelphia. What do you want me to do to save the *Constitution*?' "

" 'I want some sailor men,' he answered, 'for I have no sailors; I want to get her out, and get her afloat,' "

⁸ Recollections of a member of Captain Arthur F. Devereux's Salem Zouaves (Company J, Eighth Massachusetts Regiment), in *Boston Journal*, January 12, 1893.

⁹ James Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans* (New York, 1864), 76-77.

¹⁰ *Butler's Book*, 192.

" 'Oh, well,' said I, 'I have plenty of sailor men from the town of Marblehead, where their fathers built the *Constitution*.' " ¹¹

Telling about it later in a speech at Provincetown, Butler says he replied, "Sailors! I have two companies of Massachusetts fishermen that can man the navies of the world." ¹²

Colonel Schuyler Hamilton, later of Butler's staff, recounts: "Old Ben Butler cocked his eye . . . and roared out, 'Where are you Gloucester, Nantucket and Cape Cod boys? Do you know a hand-spike from a marlin-spike? Ahoy there!' Good Lord! The Eighth Massachusetts rose like one man after a long Plymouth Rock three hours sermon. . . . And 'Old Ironsides' floated like a black swan into deep water, where Secesh fire could not reach her." ¹³

It was not as simple as that. "Old Ironsides" was hard aground. Under direction of Butler and Naval Lieutenant (later Admiral) John Rodgers her heavy guns and other weighty gear had to be shifted to lighten the ship to get her out of the mud. Butler's sailor-soldiers "tugged, and tramped, and lightened, and heaved and tugged again," while "groups of sulky Secesh stood scowling around, muttering execrations." ¹⁴ Finally she was released from her bed of mud and towed off amid deafening cheers.

In the process the general's "flagship," the ferry, ran aground. Butler, still suspicious of the ferry captain, had warned him, "I am told you mean to run us aground . . . If you do, as God lives and you live, I'll blow your brains out!" ¹⁵ But when the ferry did ground, Butler was convinced it was by accident rather than by foul intent, and the captain's brains were left unblown out, though he was too jittered by the mishap for further useful service.

There was the regiment, mired in Chesapeake mud, provisions almost gone, water casks nearly dry, and a hot sun beating down.

"Then," recounts a member of Captain Arthur F. Devereux's Salem Zouaves, "Butler's fertility of resource came into play. He showed the energy that was in him when he conceived the idea of having the men double-quick fore and aft on one side.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 192-93.

¹² Speech at Provincetown, Mass., July 22, 1873, reported in *Boston Advertiser*, July 23, 1873.

¹³ Letter of General Hamilton in *New London Day*, October 20, 1897.

¹⁴ Parton, *op. cit.*, 80-81.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 81. "If you find traitors in the engine-room or the fire-room," Butler had ordered, "shoot them down and take their places." *Reminiscences at Eighth Regiment Reunion*, August 2, 1869, Butler, *Corr.*, I, 25.

" 'Fall in men!' it was. 'Forward, double time!' . . .

"The general grabbed a drum and sticks, and gave us the taps himself, double-quicking up and down with us."¹⁶

It was a display of tactics that probably amused the navy men looking on. When the ferry failed to be rocked off the reef by the general and his Marblehead and Salem salts drumming and running fore and aft, they tossed tons of coal and other weighty materials overboard, the general dropping his drum to put a shoulder to the lifting.

It was a busy Sunday, but all to no avail so far as floating the ferry was concerned. She had to be towed loose later by the steamer *Boston*, which appeared next day bearing the New York Seventh Regiment.

But the *Constitution* had been floated and freed and was out of danger of "rebel" capture. Lieutenant Rodgers reportedly was ready to sink her rather than strike her colors.¹⁷ Butler's Salem and Gloucester and Marblehead fishermen put the historic old ship out of reach of that extremity.

Presently all the troops were encamped ashore. At Annapolis, Butler's command captured a powderless gun, with a revolving barrel, run by steam, built by the Baltimore inventor, Ross Winans. Butler had the strange war engine steamed up and looked it over. He said it reminded him of the first British experiment of mounting howitzers on mule back. A soldier had held the beast's bridle, but the mule, with the fuse lighted in the gun, kept turning around with the inspecting officers scrambling to get out of the way. "There was the damndest lot of gold lace wiggling along the grass that day that ever they saw in the British army."¹⁸ The nearer they crawled to the mule's hoofs, the more chance they had of being kicked to death, and if they didn't get pretty close they ran a chance of being filled full of buckshot." Finally the gun went off and nobody was killed. Butler did not want to repeat

¹⁶ Reminiscences of a Salem Zouave, *Boston Journal*, January 12, 1893.

¹⁷ Schouler, *op. cit.*, I, 104.

¹⁸ As to gold braid, not wiggling in the grass, but adorning General Butler, Carl Schurz, visiting Annapolis, was impressed by "his gorgeous militia uniform adorned with rich gold embroidery. His rotund form, his squinting eye, and the peculiar puff of his cheeks made him look a little grotesque." It was obvious "that General Butler thoroughly enjoyed his position of power, which, of course, was new to him, and that he keenly appreciated its theatrical possibilities. . . . But he did expedite business, and, no doubt, he got over his theatrical fancies as the novelty wore off." Carl Schurz, *Reminiscences* (New York, 1907-08), II, 226.

such a scene. For "pure down-right cussedness," he concluded, the Winans gun had "got the British howitzer mule beaten to death."

"Lieutenant," he ordered, "draw that fire and cool down that boiler. We'll take no chances with that dashedly-dashed thing."¹⁹

Getting locomotive steam up for a run to Washington was the general's more immediate concern. He had mechanics and railroad men as well as sailors in his versatile command. Drawing up his troops, he requested that anybody familiar with track-laying or repairing engines should step to the front. A score or more skilled mechanics responded.²⁰

Lieutenant Colonel E. W. Hinks, visiting the general, found him disturbed because the colonel of the New York regiment had called a "town meeting" of his officers and refused to obey orders to advance to help take possession of the partly torn up railroad to Washington. Hinks said with two companies of mechanics, he would do it. On departing, Hinks asked the general about the enemy he might meet.

"Shall I treat them with severity or attempt to conciliate them?" he asked.

"Conciliate them, by all means," Butler replied. "Do you know how to conciliate an enemy? The way to conciliate an enemy . . . is to take him by the throat and hold him till he is black in the face."²¹

It did not come to that. But the soldiers had to lay down rails and do other repairing of the sabotaged right-of-way before they could get the train bearing Butler's troops through to Washington. In the cab of the first engine that went over the restored line was young Andrew Carnegie.²²

Like Moses left behind on Mount Nebo, Butler was ordered to remain in command at Annapolis while his troops crept forward to the capital, but he shared the exultation of their exploit.

"You led the advance into Washington," he reminded veterans of the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment at a reunion, "and to you, under God, it was given to save the National Capital from traitors

¹⁹ Eye-witness account in *New York Sun*, August 2, 1908.

²⁰ Frederick William Seward, *Reminiscences of a Wartime Statesman and Diplomat* (New York, 1916), 159.

²¹ *Army and Navy Journal* (XXI, 1861), 612.

²² Andrew Carnegie, *Autobiography* (Boston, 1920), 99.

. . . You secured Annapolis and Chesapeake Bay to the country and the Union, which required the basis of rebel operations to be the Potomac and not the Susquehanna. Without you, the fight had been carried to the Susquehanna, not the Potomac; Philadelphia would have been threatened, not Washington."²³

As a matter of fact, other troops, including the Baltimore-battered Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, had reached Washington, so it was hyperbolic rhetoric to say Butler's men had saved the capital single-handed. But the landing of his command at the Maryland capital had been useful at a time when "rebel" sympathies and activities were rife in the area and it was feared the Maryland legislature, then about to assemble, might pass an ordinance of secession. And the efforts of his sailor-soldiers did avert danger of capture, burning or sinking of the *Constitution* by ill-disposed anti-Unionists. "Old Cockeye" had saved "Old Ironsides."

Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.

²³ Butler speech at Eighth Massachusetts Regiment Reunion, August 2, 1869, Butler, *Corr.* I, 26.

POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By CHARLES BRANCH CLARK

SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION IN MARYLAND, 1861-1865

(Concluded from Vol. XL, page 301, December, 1945)

Lincoln's Proclamation had a profound effect upon public opinion. Francis Thomas, one of Maryland's congressmen who had turned thumbs down on Lincoln's proposals of the previous March and July, introduced a resolution in Congress on January 12, 1863, providing that "The Committee on Emancipation and Colonization be instructed to inquire into the expediency of making an appropriation to aid the State of Maryland in a system of emancipation and colonization of persons of color, inhabitants of said state."⁴² On January 19, John A. Bingham of Ohio introduced a similar bill that was promptly referred to a select committee.⁴³ The committee reported a bill on February 25 that appropriated ten million dollars to aid emancipation in Maryland. It was to take effect in two years. A parliamentary objection was made, and Crisfield of Maryland said that the measure was not desired by his State. The bill was recommitted and never again reported.⁴⁴ Maryland was not ready to accept such a boon, chiefly because of her opposition to any form of enforced emancipation or coercion. Congress was not likely to force it upon her.

In January, 1863, G. Fred Maddox of Leonardtown, St. Mary's County, wrote Governor Bradford about the war in general and about state rights and the Negro question in particular.⁴⁵ He

⁴² *Congressional Globe*, 3rd Sess., 37th Congress, p. 283.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1293-1294. Leary and Thomas of Maryland voted for recommitment while Calvert, Crisfield, Webster, and May voted against it.

⁴⁵ Maddox to Bradford, January 9, 1863, Executive Letter Book, p. 353 *et seq.* This letter is also reprinted in *Baltimore American*, January 19, 1863, and *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, January 21, 1863.

urged the Governor to do something about runaway slaves. A military hospital near Leonardtown was being used to receive runaways, he said, and offered them protection. Maddox pointed out that a Maryland law subjected a party to indictment for harboring runaways and made it a penitentiary offense if convicted. He thought that Bradford should let his own opinion govern him when State laws thus conflicted with Federal laws or actions. He asked Bradford to support the Sheriff of St. Mary's County by sending the State militia to be used against the aggression of the Federal government in aiding runaways.

Bradford replied to Maddox on January 13.⁴⁶ He said the Union was attempting to suppress the South for renouncing the Constitution. It was therefore acting in self-defense and could not avoid occasional conflict with the rights of citizens. But loyal citizens would be indemnified after the war for losses suffered. It was foolish to suggest the use of the militia against the Federal force, said Bradford. It should be used only to suppress rebellious people within the State. Bradford said the main issue was to end the war as soon as possible. He was not willing to allow subordinate issues to weaken the Union by dividing its friends who agreed on the main issue.

Bradford's reply to Maddox was praised highly by the *Baltimore American*. It said: "We have not, during all the period since the conflict, or the dispute preliminary to it, begun, perused anything more to the purpose—more felicitous in its way, than Governor Bradford's response. . . ." ⁴⁷

Maddox had not exhausted himself, however, and on January 22 replied in a bitter tone to the Governor, condemning him for endorsing the many "infamous" actions of the administration.⁴⁸ He asked Bradford which of Lincoln's policies he supported, that of March 4, 1861, in which he said he had no intention of interfering with slavery in the states where it existed; or his January 1, 1863, Proclamation of Emancipation. The Governor, said Maddox, was shirking his duty by not protecting Maryland citizens, and by supporting the suppression of the rebellion by any means, constitutional or otherwise.

⁴⁶ Bradford to Maddox, January 13, 1863, Executive Letter Book, pp. 353-357; *Baltimore American*, January 19, 1863.

⁴⁷ January 19, 1861.

⁴⁸ Maddox to Bradford, *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, January 28, 1863.

As the institution of slavery gradually broke down in Maryland, the hostility of the agricultural district to free Negroes became evident. The citizens of Dorchester County met in January, 1863, and passed a series of resolutions demanding that the Maryland "vagrant" laws be enforced against Negroes. They declared

That Maryland can never be the paradise of free negroism—the free negro State of the Union. If involuntary negro servitude cannot exist, we must have exclusively white labor, That is, if in the providence of God, this country was intended as a home for the exclusive occupation of the white man, there should be no dark spots upon it—it should be white all over.⁴⁹

In March Thomas Swann, ex-Mayor of Baltimore, made pertinent remarks on the slave issue in a speech before the Union League of Philadelphia.⁵⁰ Swann declared that he was a Unionist above all else, and then expressed the conservative opinion of Maryland leaders to the effect that he opposed the introduction of the slave issue, in any form, into the management of the war. Yet, since Maryland had a large investment in slave property, Swann said he could not look with indifference upon the plan of compensated emancipation and colonization. Some such plan would have to be worked out, he said. Free Negroes and slaves totalled 170,000 in Maryland and when slaves were freed it would be impossible for this large number of Negroes to exist on terms of equality with free white labor. But Swann was opposed to coercion in emancipation, although, as a slaveholder for twenty years, he believed slavery had prevented growth and development in Maryland. It limited land values, cramped the energies of the people, and checked the increase of wealth by excluding both capital and population from the State. Boston, he said, had forged far ahead of Baltimore because capital and immigration flowed toward the free states. Maryland's soil was fertile and her natural resources unsurpassed, but Baltimore was still behind Boston. The abolition of slavery in Maryland would, he thought, be followed by additional manufactures, greater commerce, and increased land values.

"Free Labor" addressed the following query to the *Baltimore American* in May, 1863: "What is the position of the *American* on the question of emancipation in Maryland. Many of your

⁴⁹ *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, January 27, 1863.

⁵⁰ The speech was delivered March 2, 1863. Copy in Maryland Historical Society library.

readers are anxious that you should speak out definitely on the subject.”⁵¹ In its answer, the *American* expressed surprise that “any one at this late date had any doubts as to the position of the *American* on this important subject.” But its position was gladly given. It was

First—We believe that if slavery had been abolished in Maryland ten years ago, it would now rival Massachusetts in manufactures, wealth and commercial greatness.

Second—We believe that the sooner Maryland is rid of slavery the better it will be for the present generation and for those that are to come after us.

Third—We believe that slavery would long since have disappeared in Maryland if there had been no attempt made to force such a result. Emancipation was popular twenty years ago, and would have worked its own success if it had been left to itself.

Fourth—We believe that the slaveholders’ rebellion has virtually staked the triumph or destruction of slavery in all the State as the issue of the conflict. If the Union is maintained slavery will fall everywhere, and will only exist as a weak State institution in a few of the Cotton States.

Fifth—If the rebellion should triumph, which is not a possibility, the destiny of Maryland with the free North is now fixed and unmistakable.

Sixth—We therefore regard it as self evident that slavery can no longer exist in Maryland as a means of profitable labor, and the sooner those interested in it come to the same conclusion the better for themselves.

Seventh—As to compensated emancipation, we are unwilling that those who do not own slaves should force those who do, especially the disloyal, to receive compensation from the government for them. If the compensation proposition is to be accepted, we think that the slaveholders themselves are the only parties who should apply to the government for its bounty.

Eighth—Believing that slavery in Maryland is now disappearing as rapidly as the most urgent could wish, we are opposed to the adoption of any hot-bed process. The next Legislature will be ripe for action on the subject, and those representing the slave interest will be most urgent to secure compensation.⁵²

As the summer of 1863 approached there were renewed attempts on the part of slaves to escape into the District of Columbia and other free territory. On June 20 Peter Grimes, Sheriff of Prince George’s County, complained to Bradford of the large number of runaways from his county, and asked if he had the legal right to arrest them at their peril since they were usually armed. Grimes

⁵¹ *Baltimore American*, May 4, 1863.

⁵² *Ibid.*

also sought advice upon the calling out of a "Posse Comitatus."⁵³ Bradford replied that Grimes had the right to arrest them, but he did not think it wise to exercise it unless the arrests could be made peacefully. Nor would he advise the use of a "Posse Comitatus," for it would come into collision with the military authorities.⁵⁴

Serious problems arose when the enlistment of Maryland Negroes in the Federal service began in July, 1863. Colonel William Birney was directed by Secretary of War Stanton to organize a colored regiment,⁵⁵ whose members were to be credited to the State's quota just as were white troops.⁵⁶ Birney urged the Baltimore City Council, through Mayor John Lee Chapman, to make arrangements to pay bounties to colored troops so as to hasten their enlistment and complete Baltimore's quota.⁵⁷ The enlistment of colored troops was undertaken with vigor. When Major-General Schenck was informed that a number of slaves belonging to Southern sympathizers were imprisoned for safe-keeping in the slave prison of B. M. and W. L. Campbell at 282 West Pratt Street, Baltimore, he concluded to confiscate them. He ordered Colonel Birney to proceed to the place and make a suitable disposition of all confined there. Birney carried out the order at once. The slaves, belonging to "that old and notorious rebel," George H. Stuart, formerly a major-general of State militia, were enlisted in the Negro regiment. Other slaves were set at liberty, pleasing a large crowd that had gathered to witness the proceedings.⁵⁸

⁵³ Grimes to Bradford, June 20, 1863, Executive Letter Book, p. 428.

⁵⁴ Bradford to Grimes, June 23, 1863. *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Stanton to Major-General Robert C. Schenck, July 6, 1863, *Official Records*, 2nd Series, III, 470-471. Schenck was in command of the Middle Department, with headquarters at Baltimore.

⁵⁶ Stanton to Schenck, July 18, 1863. *Baltimore Sun*, July 28, 1863. This letter was forwarded to Chapman, Mayor of Baltimore.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, III (1863), 612. Birney's account is most enlightening. In his official report he wrote.

" . . . The part of the prison in which slaves are confined encloses a brick paved yard, twenty-five feet in width by forty in length. The front wall is a high brick one; the other sides are occupied by the cells of prisons. In this yard no tree or shrub grows—no flower or blade of grass can be seen. Here the mid-day sun pours down in scorching rays, and no breeze comes to temper the summer heat. A few benches, a hydrant, numerous wash-tubs and clothes-lines covered with drying clothes, were all it contained.

"In this place I found 26 men, one boy, 29 women and 3 infants. Sixteen of the men were shackled together by couples at the ankles, by heavy irons, and one had his legs chained together by ingeniously contrived locks connected by chains suspended to his waist. I sent for a blacksmith and had the shackles and chains removed. . . . These all expressed their desire to enlist in the service of the United

Enlistment of Negroes led to the absconding of slaves in large number; it also led to the discussion of the whole slave question. The non-slaveowners contended that to deprive the State of the hearty, strong, and able free blacks who performed the manual labor on the farms of the free counties and in Baltimore City, would leave those sections of the State without labor; or else, compel them, the most loyal sections of the State, to hire slave labor. They claimed that as long as slavery existed in Maryland free white labor would not enter the State to fill the place of the enlisted free colored laborer. This would give a new value to slavery which loyal men had hoped the war would destroy.⁵⁹ It was also urged by non-slaveholders that the enlistment of none but free colored persons would double the value of slave property, and indirectly put money into the hands of those hostile to the national government. To avoid such a result, they urged that slaves as well as free colored bear their proportion of the burden. The slaves, meanwhile, had ceased their attempts to escape to the District. They feared being caught by patrols and forced to enlist in the Negro regiment. The *Baltimore American* said that shortly the only slaves in Maryland who would desire to be free would be the aged and infirm.⁶⁰

There was much confusion and dissension over the Negro enlistments. Major-General Schenck was informed that Colonel Birney was interfering with slaves on the Eastern Shore, and Birney was directed to revoke at once all authority given to civilians, the chief offenders, to act as recruitment agents. Only commissioned officers were henceforth to perform such duties.⁶¹ Ex-Governor Hicks, describing to Lincoln the great excitement in Maryland caused by Negro recruitment, reported that slaves of loyal as well as disloyal persons were being enlisted either by force or by their own choice. This was a serious hardship to the

States, and were conducted to the recruiting office on Camden street, to be examined by the surgeons. . . .

"These unfortunates were all liberated in accordance with your orders. It appears from their statements that this slave-pen has been used chiefly for the purpose of holding persons, in evasion of the law of Congress, entitled to their freedom in the District of Columbia, and persons claimed as slaves by rebels or rebel sympathizers. See Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VII, Document No. 116, pp. 394-395.

⁵⁹ *Appleton's* III (1863), pp. 614-615.

⁶⁰ September 21, 1863.

⁶¹ Assistant Adjutant General C. W. Foster to Schenck, September 2, 1863, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 760-761.

farmers at this season of "fodder saving, wheat seeding, and corn gathering." Left without labor, the farmers were rapidly becoming antagonistic to the Lincoln administration, said Hicks. He did not protest against the recruiting of Negroes but the manner in which it was done. For instance, the rumor was circulating over the Eastern Shore that Birney was bringing colored companies in uniform to Talbot County, there to strut before the Negroes and aid hasty enlistment. Hicks stoutly opposed this, and said he spoke not only for himself but also for a deputation of "good and respectable Union" men of Talbot County who had come to him for advice. There was no need, he said, to arouse their resentment against the Lincoln Administration by using colored troops in the process of recruitment.⁶²

Shortly thereafter Judge Hugh Lennox Bond⁶³ of the Baltimore Circuit Court addressed a long and urgent letter to Secretary of War Stanton in relation to the enlistment of Negroes. He objected to limiting enlistment to free Negroes when there were nearly as many slaves who could be enlisted. While Baltimore and other free counties were losing their labor force, slave property in other counties was increasing in value, and slaveholders profiting. Bond urged the War Department to issue a proclamation stipulating that all Negroes, free or slave, be enlisted.⁶⁴

Bond's proposal was bitterly opposed by a large group in Maryland. The Baltimore *Sun* claimed that he had urged the War Department to "entice and persuade" slaves in Maryland to abscond from their masters and enlist in the army.⁶⁵ This, said the *Sun*, was contrary to the Maryland criminal code which forbade any person to entice, persuade, assist, or offer any inducement to any slave or servant to desert his master. The penalty was not less than six nor more than fifteen years for such an offense.⁶⁶

Judge Bond's letter prompted Governor Bradford to publish

⁶² Hicks to Lincoln, September 4, 1863, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 767-768.

⁶³ A strongly partisan Union man whose "always decided opinions were sometimes based on too strong prejudice. . . ." For a sketch of Bond see Henry P. Goddard, "Some Distinguished Marylanders I Have Known," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, IV (1907), 27 *et seq.* Bond became a very strong unconditional Unionist and emancipationist.

⁶⁴ Baltimore *Sun*, September 7, 1863; J. T. Scharf says this letter attracted much attention in the North and was widely copied by its journals. *History of Maryland*, III, 571.

⁶⁵ September 11, 1863.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, citing section 176 of article 30 of the criminal code.

his views on slavery. Representative Francis Thomas had already urged Bradford to express publicly the views he had expressed in private conversation with him.⁶⁷ Bradford now wrote a letter that was printed in the newspapers and received much attention. He declared that the loyal people of Maryland had been in the majority since the Civil War began. They had believed, he said, in a subordination of all local issues, including slavery, to the real issue of preserving the Union. Nevertheless the slave question could not escape a certain amount of attention in the country, especially after Lincoln's various messages and proclamations regarding it. Maryland, said Bradford, had three classes in respect to the slave question. The rebel sympathizers hoped that the South would win the war and preserve slavery. The progress of the war, however, had discouraged this hope, and many of this group were looking for means that would enable them to salvage what they could of the system. They would accept compensated emancipation, he believed, if all other methods failed. The second group in Maryland, though strongly Unionist, was attached to slavery and hoped that both it and the Union could be preserved. But they, too, said the governor, saw that as unlikely of fulfillment, and were ready to agree to emancipation, particularly since a contrary course would hinder the preservation of the Union. They had come to favor gradual and compensated emancipation. Bradford believed this was the largest group in the State.

Bradford expressed a fear to Thomas that the third group in Maryland would attempt to rush the State headlong into emancipation by some "short cut contrary to the current into which it is so satisfactorily gliding." For years, he said, most of the people of Maryland had realized that a change in the labor system was due, but felt that it should be a gradual change so as to prevent evil consequences to either the slave or the master. He favored a State convention as a constitutional means of settling the slave question in Maryland, and said he planned to recommend to the legislature, when it met in January, that it call one. It would be a quick means of testing the sentiment of the State, and would preclude the necessity of Federal coercion, so strongly opposed by Maryland.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Bradford to Thomas, September 9, 1863, Bradford MSS. This is a copy of the original, to which Bradford affixed his signature. See also Executive Letter Book, September 9, 1863, pp. 446-450.

⁶⁸ Bradford stated that the Constitutional Convention of 1851 was authorized by

Governor Bradford protested vigorously against Judge Bond's proposal to enlist slaves as well as free Negroes in Maryland. He was surprised that one occupying Bond's important position, could advise so flagrant a violation of the laws of the State and the general sentiment of its citizens, or how any loyal man at such a time as this could suggest a proceeding so well calculated to impair public confidence in the Administration when such confidence is so important to its success.

Bradford was sure that Maryland would not be coerced in the matter. He conceded that Bond's plan might be a "military necessity," but felt it would be impossible to convince the slaveholders of Maryland of this fact. They would consider it a political expediency by which they would lose their able-bodied slaves and be left only with the infirm ones to care for. To them the scheme was a "hazardous experiment," that would awaken "a sense of wrong and a feeling of indignation and disgust." The illegality of the action would be resented even more than the financial loss it would involve. The governor expressed confidence that Lincoln would repudiate such a policy and arrest the proceedings of recruiting officers who were even at that time recruiting slaves illegally.

The position taken by Bradford in his letter to Thomas was widely commented upon and generally favorably. Congressman Edwin H. Webster, then in command of a Maryland regiment in the Army of the Potomac, wrote: "You say the right thing at the right time. . . ." ⁶⁹ He said the men in his regiment gave it their "unqualified approval"; they were in favor of gradual emancipation. Montgomery Blair also sent expressions of approval.⁷⁰ In a letter thanking Blair for his support, Bradford described the conduct of recruitment officers on the Eastern Shore. They not only took slaves but also gave their owners no opportunity to identify them for possible indemnity in the future. Although he had been led to believe by both Lincoln and Stanton that there was no plan to enlist slaves, he knew that scores were being enlisted. If unauthorized, "then why in God's name permit it?" Blair, as a resident of Maryland, was asked to help put a stop to it. The secessionists and Democrats were reaping advantage from the opposition offered by conservative Unionists to slave enlistments,

an act of the legislature immediately preceding it. Thus it was a quick means of action, he said, and should satisfy all in the State.

⁶⁹ Webster to Bradford, September 13, 1863, Bradford MSS.

⁷⁰ Blair to Bradford, September 12, 1863, Bradford MSS.

and Bradford predicted that if the practise continued, "we are given over in spite of all we can do, once more to Democratic rule."⁷¹

Other leaders and private citizens in Maryland expressed their approval of Bradford's attack on Bond's position. Colonel George E. Leonard sent word from Allegany County that he fully concurred.⁷² George Vickers of Chestertown likewise signified his approval, saying that Judge Bond must "either be infatuated or is looking for some valuable office or preferment, but surely no grosser violation of law, justice, and constitution was ever contemplated."⁷³ Vickers feared that "rabid republicans" of Bond's type would "precipitate and force emancipation upon Maryland without regard to time, means, or compensation." Two days later Bradford received another letter from Chestertown signed by Vickers, James B. Ricaud, George B. Wescott, and S. N. Spencer. They approved Bradford's letter to Thomas, and made the now familiar complaint that slaves on the Eastern Shore were being enlisted illegally. Eastern Shore farms would be devoid of all labor unless it were stopped at once, said these men.⁷⁴

Thomas Swann, Chairman of the Union State Central Committee, wrote to Bradford that on behalf of the Committee he had taken the liberty of ordering that two thousand copies of Bradford's letter to Congressman Thomas be printed. It was to be circulated with the address and proceedings of the Union State Central Committee, for they expressed a great similiarity of views. "The letter has already had its effect among conservative men of all parties and my desire is that it should be extensively circulated and read by the people of this State," wrote Swann.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Bradford to Blair, September 11, 1863, Bradford MSS. As early as June, 1862, Blair had stated that he favored emancipation but only by the consent of the owners and with just compensation. See *Maryland Union* (Frederick), June 26, 1862.

In November Blair wrote to Bradford advising a special session of the Maryland legislature to consider emancipation. He saw the main problem as that of securing compensation. "I would like you," said Blair, "to move too so as to take the wind out of the sails of our more ambitious emancipators." Blair to Bradford, November 6, 1863, Bradford MSS. See *ibid.*, November 11, for another letter to Bradford from Blair expressing the same thoughts.

⁷² Colonel George E. Leonard to Bradford, September 13, 1863, Bradford MSS. Leonard stated that he had met Bradford at Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania.

⁷³ Vickers to Bradford, September 14, 1863, Bradford MSS.

⁷⁴ Vickers, *et al.*, to Bradford, September 16, 1863, Bradford MSS.

⁷⁵ Swann to Bradford, September 14, 1863, Bradford MSS. For the address of the Union States Central Committee, see *Appleton's* III (1863), 617-618.

James Touchstone of Culpeper, Virginia, expressed the most violent criticism of Bond's letter and strongly supported Bradford. He was of the opinion that Bond's object was to "toady to the present administration. . . . He has certainly degraded the office he fills by making himself a pioneer in the dirty cause of abolitionism. And in my humble opinion he has acted contrary to the spirit of his *obligations* as a Maryland jurist. In fact, he has brought the good and true, loyal and pure men of Maryland to shame." ⁷⁶

The *Baltimore American* observed that when the highest officials in the State were compelled by a circumstance, as in the case of Bradford and a "prominent Judge," to enter the debate on slavery, it assumed "a character which must attract attention, and precipitates conclusions little dreamed of but a brief period since." ⁷⁷ It had warned Maryland, said the *American*, that the slave question would assume a prominent position in State affairs, despite the assertions of "short-sighted gentlemen" twelve months previously that the question of emancipation, or all agitation of it, "could be smothered, frowned down, quashed," thus leaving the institution undisturbed in Maryland. Its warnings, however, had been received "ungraciously," although slaves were even then absconding from all parts of the State. "Fossilized politicians" in the State had "shut their eyes to the facts," as though ignoring them would "suffice to prevent their occurrence." Meanwhile the issue had become the most prominent one in the State, and involved high State officials in an open debate on it. ⁷⁸

Insofar as the specific Bradford-Bond debate was concerned the *American* believed that, based on technicalities of law, the Governor undoubtedly had the advantage over the Judge, as there was no constitutional power, state or federal, to employ slaves in the army. But this journal thought that if the President could confiscate horses, cattle, or other property for war purposes, slaves might also be included. And on the question of "common justice to all those who are liable to be drafted, the Judge, we think, had the advantage of the Governor." Only the families of the slaves enlisted would suffer real hardships, for by the enlistment of the slave, white labor could stay at home and that was "much more

⁷⁶ Touchstone to Bradford, September 29, 1863, Bradford MSS.

⁷⁷ September 22, 1863.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

important to the interests of the State than its slave labor." The owner would thus have labor, and his slave would likely be a better soldier than he or his sons. The non-slaveholders, unable to pay three hundred dollars for exemption, would be saved from conscription if the slaves filled the quotas. The slaves, moreover, were willing soldiers because their freedom would be obtained at the end of the war by virtue of their military service. The *American* was glad that Bradford favored emancipation through the means of a State convention, but believed that before such a convention could be assembled, slavery would have been abolished in Maryland.⁷⁹

Negro recruiting in Maryland progressed so well that Birney soon had a colored regiment ready to make its appearance in Baltimore. The parade which it staged in the city is vividly described:

The parade through the city . . . of Colonel Birney's colored regiment, numbering over one thousand sable warriors, was a novel sight in Baltimore. They were in full dress, with white gloves, well fitting clothes, and were undoubtedly a model of cleanliness in their general appearance. In physical qualities they are strong, stout and muscular, and moved with an excellent military bearing, carrying their arms as if they were proud of them.—They were accompanied by a brass band, the members of which enlisted in a body from Hagerstown. The officers, above the Sergeants, are all white.—The Secessionists call them 'Abe Lincoln's Sipoy,' but the mechanics and poor white men who are not able to pay \$300 for exemption, viewed them as their *substitutes* for the approaching draft.⁸⁰

Governor Bradford protested to President Lincoln on September 28, 1863, against enlistment officers who still enticed slaves to abscond in Maryland, and who committed other offensive practices.⁸¹ Lincoln telegraphed Bradford to come to Washington in connection with the matter. He did so at once and talked unofficially with Secretary of War Stanton. They decided that the policy of enlisting free Maryland Negroes should be continued, but that slaves should be enlisted only with their owners' consent unless they were needed to fill Maryland's quotas. In the latter case, however, the owners should file deeds of manumission and

⁷⁹ *Baltimore American*, September 21, 1863. The *American* turned out to be a very poor prophet. The position of the *American* is not entirely clear throughout, for it is recalled that Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation, January 1, 1863, was not favored by it.

⁸⁰ *Baltimore American*, September 18, 1863.

⁸¹ Bradford to Lincoln, September 28, 1863, Executive Letter Book, pp. 451-454; *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 855-856. Bradford asked Senators Hicks and Reverdy Johnson to look over his letter before he sent it.

receive compensation for the labor or services of their slaves. Disloyal owners were not to be eligible for compensation. An elaborate procedure was arranged by which compensation should be obtained.⁸²

After his return to Maryland, Bradford requested Stanton to extend the time for enlistment of slaves from thirty to sixty days. Thirty days, he said, was inadequate time to inform the State of the plan they had agreed on. If rushed into it, the people would be prejudiced against it. Bradford asserted that slaves should not be enlisted without their owners' consent for at least sixty days, since their labor was needed at this time of the year. Owners of slaves already enlisted illegally should be allowed to identify them for the sake of future indemnity claims.⁸³ Reverdy Johnson, Charles B. Calvert, and other Maryland citizens also interviewed President Lincoln, protesting against the outrages of recruiting. A Washington correspondent said that Lincoln promised to put an end to such outrages.⁸⁴

Lincoln did, in fact, direct Stanton to issue a general order on October 3, that regulated much more strictly the enlistment of colored troops in Maryland, Missouri, and Tennessee.⁸⁵ The order provided that only able-bodied men should be enlisted, that they should be credited to the State and county quotas, and be free after the war. Free Negroes and slaves, with the consent of loyal owners but not with the consent of disloyal owners, were to be enlisted first. If, in thirty days, this number was not adequate, slaves of loyal owners who had not given their consent, should be enlisted. Loyal owners were to be compensated, whether they gave their consent or not, at not over \$300 a slave when they filed deeds of manumission. A board was to be appointed to audit such claims.⁸⁶

This order gave general satisfaction. It helped to fill the army;

⁸² Stanton to Lincoln, October 1, 1863, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 855-856. In this letter Stanton reports to Lincoln his conversation with Bradford.

⁸³ Bradford to Stanton, October 3, 1863, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 862-863.

⁸⁴ *Baltimore Sun*, October 5, 1863. Shortly thereafter other gentlemen from the lower Maryland counties called upon Lincoln to lodge the same protest. One owner, Oden Bowie, had lost seventy able-bodied slaves. Nearly as large a number were left but they were unable to work because of age or other infirmities.

⁸⁵ General Orders No. 329, October 3, 1863, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 860-861. This order was later applied to Delaware.

⁸⁶ For these regulations see Stanton to Bradford, October 5, 1863, Executive Letter Book, 455-456; Bradford to Stanton, October 8, *ibid.*, p. 456.

it aided and stimulated State emancipation; it compensated slave owners; and it lightened the burden of the draft upon white citizens.⁸⁷ Bradford and others accepted the plan as inevitable although they did not approve of the enlistment of slaves. If the owners were willing, there could be no objection. But if they were not, coercion must be used and this was deplored on all sides. Opposition continued to some extent, although the new plan of enlistment was generally accepted. Vickers resisted the recruiting so effectively in Kent County that Birney was directed by Lincoln to call it off for the time being. After investigating the activities of Vickers, Birney found that he had formerly been a "noisy constitutional Union man," but on slave questions had become a virulent enemy of the government and associated with known secessionists. He was said to have organized a mob to burn the small government steamer sent to Chestertown to carry colored troops to recruiting headquarters. Birney also reported that Judge Richard B. Carmichael⁸⁸ of Easton was an active opponent of Negro enlistment. Birney reported that, as a whole, the Eastern Shore favored the recruitment of colored troops and aided him as much as possible. Only a few rebel sympathizers, slaveholders, and politicians stood in the way.⁸⁹ They sent a deputation to Lincoln on October 23 in protest. He responded that the country was in need of troops. If recruiting officers acted contrary to the law they would be superseded, but the recruiting must go on as long as there were quotas to fill.⁹⁰ The opposition was bent upon harassing recruiting officers, however, as long as Negroes were enlisted. One officer was killed in St. Mary's County while recruiting was temporarily suspended.⁹¹

⁸⁷ By October 3, 1863, between 1,250 and 1,300 slaves had been recruited by Colonel Birney and his officers. This did not include free colored troops. Birney to Lincoln, October 3, 1863, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 862. Lincoln had asked for this information.

⁸⁸ A circuit court judge whose arrest while on the bench in 1862 created a sensation in Maryland.

⁸⁹ Birney to "Adjutant General, U. S. Army," October 13, 1863, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 881-882.

⁹⁰ *Baltimore American*, October 23, 1863. See also *Baltimore Sun*, October 23, 1863. In December, Vickers and other Kent County citizens were still protesting against slave enlistments. Vickers to Bradford, December 15 and 19, 1863, Bradford MSS.

⁹¹ Bradford to C. C. Magruder, October 26, 1863, Executive Letter Book, pp. 470-473. Magruder, in behalf of the citizens of Upper Marlboro, Prince George's County, had written to Bradford on October 22, protesting against Negroes being carried off to Washington, *Ibid.*, pp. 469-470.

In anticipation of the election of 1863, a great Union meeting was held at Elkton, Cecil County, on October 6, at which Pennsylvania and Delaware were also represented. Emancipation in Maryland was prominent in the discussion and in the speeches delivered by Henry Winter Davis, Colonel John A. J. Creswell, General Goldsborough, and Colonel Piatt. The prevailing feeling was one of enthusiasm for emancipation, and for making Maryland a free State with free labor.⁹²

The *Baltimore American* continued its agitation for emancipation as the election approached. Emancipation would mean, it said, that the Capital at Washington, located on Maryland soil, would henceforth be located away from slave surroundings. Material reasons also urged that Maryland should have emancipation, said this paper. Robert J. Walker was quoted as saying: "Take down the barriers of slavery and a new and unprecedented current of population and capital will flow into the State. Property would rise immensely in value; the price of her lands would soon reach that of Pennsylvania. . . . Baltimore would fulfill her mighty destiny. . . ." Census figures, comparing Massachusetts with Maryland, were presented to show that Maryland was greatly retarded by slavery. Emancipation, it was argued, would mean great economic progress.⁹³

The November elections returned a majority to the State Legislature pledged to vote for a convention that, it was hoped, would abolish slavery in Maryland. When the legislature met in January it authorized the call of such a convention if the people voted in favor of it on April 6. This Legislature also protested the action of Colonel Birney who sent about 150 Negro soldiers into Charles and St. Mary's counties with orders to seize and take into Birney's "Negro encampment" at Benedict, for enlistment, all Negroes found upon plantations or elsewhere. A joint committee was appointed that protested to President Lincoln such outrages.

Announcement was made in January that a Board of Claims would henceforth be in session in Baltimore to decide upon compensation for slaves enlisted in Maryland. Claims were to be filed before March 1. Owners were directed to present certificates of enlistment from the recruiting officers, valid deeds of manumission and release of service, and affidavits of ownership. Two witnesses

⁹² *Baltimore American*, October 9, 10, 1863.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

were to be brought along and an oath taken to certify that the slave was not one of a disloyal owner.⁹⁴

Montgomery Blair, Senator Hicks, and Thomas Swann spoke by request before the Maryland Legislature on January 22, 1864. Blair and Hicks both favored emancipation for Maryland, while Swann was more emphatic, and declared that "immediate emancipation" was the only remedy. He avowed his intention, and that of his friends to push the "steed of Emancipation" with "whip and spur, until every valley and every hill-top shall feel the tramp of his glorious mission, and the whole state of Maryland, from its centre to its circumference, shall be awakened to an edict of universal Emancipation."⁹⁵

Throughout the early months of 1864 liberal sentiment that promised to put an end to slavery in Maryland continued to grow.⁹⁶ Much interest was shown in the approaching election to decide whether or not a Constitutional Convention should be held.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Baltimore *Sun*, January 2, 18, 1864. Under this set-up the whole number of claims presented up to October 4, 1864, was 2,015. By October 1, 244 of these claims had been passed upon by the Commission. Nine were rejected and awards were made upon the remainder in proportion to the term of service which the recruit had owed to the claimant prior to enlistment. Twenty-five of the accepted claims, amounting in the aggregate to \$6,900, had been paid by October 1 by the disbursing officer attached to the Bureau of Colored troops. Unpaid claims amounting to \$47,800, were reported on file on October 20, 1864. *Official Records*, 3rd Series, IV, 790.

⁹⁵ Baltimore *Sun*, January 25, 1864. In connection with this visit to the Legislature, George Earle of the State Court of Appeals in Annapolis, wrote to John A. J. Creswell:

"I learn that Governor Hicks and Sec. Blair are to be here on next Wed. evening to address the members of the Legislature and to instruct them in the path of duty. The object is good enough, but the friends of the President who advocated his measures, throughout the last canvass of Maryland, are entitled to the credit of his re-nomination, and should not be deprived of it by those who came to his support at the eleventh hour. You and Mr. Davis should attend the legislative meeting on Wednesday night, and speak as long and loud as Messrs. Hicks and Blair." George Earle to John A. J. Creswell, January 18, 1864, Creswell MSS.

⁹⁶ Some in Maryland opposed this trend to the very end, and Bradford received numerous letters in connection with emancipation and particularly in reference to the enlistment of Negroes. Dr. Thomas King Carroll of Church Creek, Dorchester County, wrote on May 5, 1864, to Bradford that Negro soldiers under an unknown white officer had taken Negroes away to service, including the old, the sick, and one nearly blind. Most of them were free Negroes not subject to the draft, he said. Executive Letter Book, 528-532.

⁹⁷ No attempt is made here to cover in detail the events leading up to the Convention, its proceedings, or the new Constitution it drew up. This has all been admirably done by W. S. Myers, in *Maryland Constitution of 1864*. Our purpose is to summarize this phase of the slavery question in Maryland and to fit it in with our general discussion. A good survey may also be found in *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia* (1864), IV, pp. 497-498, and William A. Russ, Jr., "Disfranchisement in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVIII (1933), 316-319.

President Lincoln stated that it need not be a secret that he wished success to emancipation in Maryland. "It would aid much to end the rebellion, since it is a matter of national consequence in which every national man may rightfully feel a deep interest." He hoped nothing would be allowed to divide and distract the friends of the plan.⁹⁸

When the popular vote was taken the question of emancipation had gained a notable success, for there was a majority of over twelve thousand in favor of holding the Convention. Sixty-one of the delegates elected were emancipationists and only thirty-five belonged to the opposition. But it must be explained that two-thirds of the voters were disfranchised. Only 10,000 out of 40,000 in Baltimore and only 35,000 out of 95,000 in the whole State were allowed to vote.⁹⁹

Governor Bradford, acting under the power invested in him by the Constitutional Act of the Legislature, proclaimed that the desired convention would be convened at Annapolis on April 27.¹⁰⁰ Sessions of this convention lasted from that date until September 6. Long before this, however, the main question that had called the Convention into being had been settled. On June 24, by a vote of 53 yeas and 27 nays, the Convention adopted an article declaring that "hereafter in this State there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free."¹⁰¹

The new Constitution was adopted on September 6, 1864, by a convention vote of 53-25, but thirty-five who voted for it later joined in a protest against it because of alleged irregularity. The next step was to submit the Constitution to the people at large.

⁹⁸ Lincoln to John A. J. Creswell, March 17, 1864, Nicolay and Hay, VIII, 465.

⁹⁹ W. A. Russ, Jr., *loc. cit.*, p. 319.

The Baltimore American, April 1, 1864, had this to say about eligibility to vote: "The *citizens* of Maryland are only those who regard her obligations under the Constitution to uphold the Government of the United States against all enemies and traitors. Those who have taken the opposite ground have forfeited all rights of citizenship.

"In the language of a recent speech of Major General Lew. Wallace, commanding in this department, '*Rebels and traitors have no political rights.*' Let Union men see that they do not attempt to exercise that most inestimable one of the loyal citizen—the elective franchise."

¹⁰⁰ *Baltimore American*, April 16, 1864. Bradford's Proclamation was issued on April 14.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, June 25, 1864.

October 12 and 13 were set aside for this vote. During the next month the Constitution was vigorously discussed in public and private by the strong parties that arrayed themselves for and against it. On October 10 a meeting was held in Baltimore to aid in securing its ratification. A letter was read from President Lincoln in which he endorsed the provision of the new Constitution that emancipated slaves.¹⁰² The election on October 12 and 13 turned out to be one of the most closely contested in Maryland during the Civil War. Rigid surveillance was adopted to prevent disloyal persons from voting, while liberal provisions were set up for taking the vote of Maryland soldiers in the field. After listening to argument by brilliant lawyers for three days as to the constitutionality of the soldier vote, Governor Bradford announced the vote on October 29: 30,174 had voted for and 29,799 against the new Constitution.¹⁰³

This vote was disputed by the opponents of the Constitution who accused Governor Bradford of indiscretion in ascertaining the result. They wanted the soldiers' vote thrown out because of frauds. This would have defeated the Constitution.¹⁰⁴ A case was taken to the State Court of Appeals but the vote was sustained. This, however, did not settle the question in the minds of many who still protested against frauds and appealed to Governor Bradford to withdraw his proclamation announcing the vote. This he refused to do. He sat up all night writing his proclamation that put the new Constitution in effect.¹⁰⁵ Slaves were to be freed on November 1, 1864.

The adoption of test oaths caused the bitterest controversy during the whole procedure of framing the new Constitution. Such an oath had been prescribed by the 1864 Legislature. All

¹⁰² Lincoln to Henry W. Hoffman, October 10, 1864, Nicolay and Hay, VIII, 467.

¹⁰³ *Baltimore American*, October 31, 1864; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, October 31; *Baltimore Sun*, October 31, 1864.

¹⁰⁴ The soldiers' vote was 2,633 for the Constitution, and 263 against it. McPherson, *Political History*, pp. 459-460. See W. S. Myers, *Maryland Constitution of 1864*, p. 95, *et seq.* for this dispute.

¹⁰⁵ See letter of Samuel Bradford, son of Governor Bradford, to Matthew Page Andrews, February 19, 1922, *Tercentenary History of Maryland*, I, 878.

Those arguing before Bradford against the election returns and for the Democratic State Central Committee were William Schley, I. Nevitt Steele, and Thomas S. Alexander. Representing the Republican party, and upholding the decision finally proclaimed by Governor Bradford, were Henry Winter Davis and Henry Stockbridge. The Democratic State Convention protested the Governor's action and on October 28, Chairman Bowie and Secretary Knott argued in vain for a recount.

parties whose votes were challenged on April 6 were required to swear that they had not served in the "rebel army" or given aid and comfort to the Confederacy. The voters were asked: "Have you . . . rejoiced over the defeat of the Union Army?" Have you been loyal ever since the beginning of the rebellion?" The rigid enforcement of this oath deprived voters who had once been secessionists of their vote, and the majority vote by which the convention had been called was thereby increased. A second oath was required by the new Constitution itself; and was similar to that provided for by the Legislature. This oath and eleven test questions were required of voters at the election of October 12 and 13 when the Constitution was adopted. One of the questions asked was: "When the Union and Rebel armies meet in battle, which side do you wish to see succeed?"

The test oath and the soldiers' vote constituted the margin of victory for the Constitution, and its opponents refused to accept the result without a fight. The main question in controversy was whether the test oath, prescribed by the Constitution, could be legally imposed on voters in the election ratifying that Constitution. In a number of counties mass meetings were held and resolutions adopted protesting the manner of adoption of the Constitution. Bradford was petitioned to revoke the announcement of adoption since the Constitution of 1851 was legally in effect until November 1 when the new Constitution became effective.¹⁰⁶ But Governor Bradford, in a letter to George Vickers, justified the application of the test oath as follows:

In regard to the query propounded by one of your judges of election, and mentioned in your postscript, as to whether I would refuse to count the vote of a district where the judges did not certify that the oath required by the convention had been administered. I would say what you are, of course, aware of, that by another clause in the Constitution proposed, I am expressly enjoined not to count such votes. That for the reasons already given, I hold myself bound by that requirement, and were I to disregard it, it would be as effectually to annul the action of the convention as if I had acceded to your request, and directed the judges of election not to administer the oath required.¹⁰⁷

Bradford refused to go beyond the returns, claiming that his duties were merely ministerial. The Convention, he said, had

¹⁰⁶ Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 595.

¹⁰⁷ *Baltimore American*, September 30, 1864; *Baltimore Sun*, September 30, 1864.

plenary powers and thus could require such an oath even when its own constitution was being voted upon. He cited the Convention of 1850-1851 as a precedent.¹⁰⁸

Violent opposition was expressed to the new Constitution. Elihu S. Riley, a contemporary writer who expressed the reaction of many, said:

The Federal Government will never discharge its just obligations until it has paid every dollar of slave property taken from the people of Maryland by this Constitution. Foremost in the effort to abate the evils of African slavery, the people of Maryland, unfettered by the Federal army, would never have consented to the unjust destruction of millions of property without compensation to its owners. Unassisted by test oaths, supported alone by Federal authority, and unaided by Federal bayonets, the Constitution of 1864 would never have been adopted, if, indeed, it was at all, because it assailed the honesty and integrity of Maryland, and was in the very teeth of its honest and overwhelming political sentiments and its public morality in taking property from its owners without just compensation.¹⁰⁹

The *Maryland Union* of Frederick placed the blame for the illegality of the adoption of the constitution on Governor Bradford.¹¹⁰ It declared that his name was destined to become a byword and a reproach in Maryland for the next half century. He had proclaimed the adoption of the Constitution even after it was "proved to him that the army vote was larger than all the troops that Maryland had in the field, including minors, unnaturalized and Negroes! He did this after it was proved to him that more illegal and fraudulent votes had been cast in the army than the majority by which it was claimed that the New Constitution had been carried." This paper therefore, could not "find words sufficiently strong, in the English language, to express our feelings toward the man. . . . We do not think a single man of the many thousand in Maryland who were so shamefully deceived and betrayed will ever wish to look upon him again." Since Bradford had "served the abolitionists so faithfully," the *Maryland Union* surmised that they would "pay him for his property which the rebels destroyed."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

¹⁰⁹ Elihu S. Riley, *A History of the General Assembly of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 377. Riley was Clerk of the Assembly until arrested with members of the Legislature in September, 1861. His opinion was a prejudiced one, but it was held by many people in the State.

¹¹⁰ November 3, 1864.

¹¹¹ This was a reference to the burning of Bradford's home on July 11, 1864.

The majority of the people, however, welcomed the new constitution, even if dubious of the method by which it had been adopted. Governor Bradford received many letters of congratulations for his part in its adoption. Dr. Christopher C. Cox of Baltimore County wrote that the State owed Bradford a tremendous debt of gratitude for his "manly, intelligent, and patriotic position" which assured the adoption of the Constitution. He thought that if it had not been adopted, Maryland would have receded twenty-five years from the existing point of progress.¹¹² The *Baltimore American* was in "receipt of abundant congratulations from the loyal press of the North upon the emancipation of slavery in Maryland. It is vastly pleasant to be thus welcomed into the sisterhood of Free States. . . ." ¹¹³ The *Frederick Examiner* paid high tribute to Bradford for his part in the realization of emancipation.

Great epochs have their individual associations which pass with them into recorded history. By the light of this truism, it is easy to perceive that the pen of the future historian will indissolubly connect the name of Augustus W. Bradford, Governor of Maryland, with the memorable event of Emancipation consummated during his administration, and will ascribe the meed of praise to the exalted benevolence, patriotism and statesmanship that actuated him in the trying ordeal immediately preceding the Proclamation of the Free Constitution. Other faithful laborers in the good cause may be forgotten, but he will live remembered.¹¹⁴

It was the *Baltimore American*, however, that reached new heights in lavishing praise upon Governor Bradford. On November 1, the day the slaves were freed in Maryland, it published an editorial entitled "The Day and the Governor." Concerning Governor Bradford's part in emancipation, the editorial said:

But there was one that we shall hold in eternal remembrance; one who stood by us under Providence as firm as the everlasting rock-ribbed hills. Through night and storm this watchful pilot remained at his post; true to his instincts as a man of unflinching honor, of unbending rectitude, of unswerving patriotism. Read his masterly opinion and see how neatly he turns the weapons of his adversaries. Badgered and bullied day after day, as he was by the enemies of the best interests of the State, he never for an instant lost sight of his inner promptings as a true gentleman; but

Maryland Union, November 3, 1864. This paper attacked Bradford on October 13, 1864, for his stand on the test oath.

¹¹² Cox to Bradford, November 13, 1864, Bradford MSS.

¹¹³ November 2, 1864.

¹¹⁴ November 16, 1864.

kindly and patiently met their objections with that legal acumen and that intelligent force for which he is so highly distinguished. He meets arguments with arguments; he handles with skill and judgment the weapons of right reason; he combats and disposes of every point argued in opposition to his course; his decision is acceptable because it is not that of a partisan politician, but of an upright judge, a careful, and profound scholar, and a man rigidly and sternly conscientious. Never was any man more beset by the enemies of freedom to be unfaithful to his Trust than the Governor of this State; but amid the reviling and persecution of his assailants, amid bribes and threats, he was true to duty; true to his state; true to facts as they occurred; true to law and the testimony; true to the Christian sentiments of the age.

When Maryland receives the benefits which will be conferred upon her by the operation of the new Constitution; there will be no prouder name for her to cherish than that of its defender, Augustus W. Bradford.¹¹⁵

November 1 was called the "Birth Day of American Freedom," and henceforth Maryland should celebrate it along with Thanksgiving. And those who had opposed the adoption of the Constitution would "become convinced of their error by the prosperity" to follow. The *American* thanked the soldiers "of our state for their instrumentality in the accomplishment of this grand result. . . . They came to the rescue when they were sorely needed and thus doubled our obligations for their service."¹¹⁶

Augustus W. Bradford had truly played a large part in the final emancipation of slaves in Maryland. Although the Constitution of 1851 prohibited the Legislature from abolishing the relation of master and slave, Bradford was convinced that it could legally be repealed. He had therefore urged upon the Legislature the necessity of calling a State convention. The time had arrived, he believed, for Maryland to take the initiative in ridding herself of slavery, an economic and social evil. Bradford's refusal to throw out the contested votes of the soldiers had saved the Constitution of 1864, and made possible the abolition of slaves. Many of those who opposed his actions in 1864 became his staunch defenders in later years just as the *Baltimore American* had predicted. His "calm, cool, judgement," had prevailed over the impetuosity of others.¹¹⁷

Freedom granted suddenly to 87,000 slaves naturally brought on serious problems. The newly freed Negroes were too poor,

¹¹⁵ November 1, 1864.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ J. T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, p. 138.

ignorant, and helpless to understand or accept all the attendant duties and obligations of freedom. Many former masters looked upon them with contempt and only a few were willing to aid them. A very few talked of immediate social and political equality. Many of the more tenacious slave-holders took advantage of an unrepealed provision in the Black Code of the State laws that allowed Negro slave children to be bound out for terms of apprenticeship without the consent of their parents. Since connivance with court officials helped to make this possible, appeal to the courts was "worse than folly even if victims had the money with which to hire lawyers."¹¹⁸ Parents of the young Negroes were in no position to protest if apprenticeship was resorted to before November 1, 1864, but the practice continued even after the day of freedom.

There was danger that a species of slavery or peonage would thus be perpetuated in Maryland. Major-General Lewis Wallace, commanding the Middle Department, decided, therefore, to take matters into his own hands until January, 1865, session of the Legislature could pass laws for the protection of Negroes. He issued "General Orders No. 112," on November 9, 1864, by which a "Freedmen's Bureau" was created for the Middle Department. Major William M. Este, Wallace's aide-de-camp, was placed in charge.¹¹⁹ The "Maryland Club House" in Baltimore, was to be used as the Bureau's headquarters and as a Negro hospital under the name "Freedmen's Rest."¹²⁰ Freedmen were placed under special military protection until the Legislature met, and provost-marshals, "particularly those on the Eastern and Western Shores," were to "hear all complaints made to them by persons within the meaning of this order," and to "collect and forward information and proof of wrongs done to such persons, and generally . . . render Major Este such assistance as he may require in the performance of his duty." And

lest the moneys derived from donations, and from fines collected, prove insufficient to support the institution in a manner corresponding to its im-

¹¹⁸ Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 598-599.

¹¹⁹ *Official Records*, 1st Series, XLIII, Pt. 2, 587-588. For a more complete account see General Wallace's report to the Maryland legislature, *Maryland Senate Documents* (1865), Doc. J.; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III 598-599.

¹²⁰ The Maryland Club was considered peculiarly obnoxious to the loyal people of Maryland because of its Southern sympathy. Wallace's order providing for its use, however was later rescinded. See Myers, *Self-Reconstruction in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1909), p. 22 (note).

portance, Major Este will proceed to make a list of all the avowed rebel sympathizers resident in the City of Baltimore, with a view of levying such contributions upon them in aid of the 'Freedmen's Rest' as may be from time to time required.¹²¹

General Wallace was severely criticized for assuming such powers, since Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation did not apply to Maryland. It was contended that Maryland alone should carry out the emancipation provisions of her new Constitution. But military interference with Negroes in Maryland, whether slave or free, was not new.¹²² General Wallace believed that the abuses of the apprentice system fully justified his action. He wired Secretary of War Stanton as follows:

It is impossible to convey to you by telegraph any idea of the hundreds of abuses that have come to my knowledge of this system. I have knowledge of cases where lads of sixteen and eighteen have been bound out and then hired to their fathers, who are prosperous farmers for \$10 and \$12 a month. Both you and I are put in a false position here by stopping short now. I do not think that any one can visit these counties as I have done without seeing the importance of stopping the wholesale perversion of what is designed to be a humane law . . ."¹²³

Military officers stationed on the Eastern Shore had been ordered to give special attention to Wallace's General Order No. 112, and to put a stop to the apprenticing of young Negroes. They were empowered to arrest all masters who refused liberty to Negroes or withheld them from their parents. If, however, the apprentices desired, or their parents were unable to support them, they were to be sent to the Freedmen's Bureau in Baltimore. But whenever possible, Negro families were to be kept intact.¹²⁴

General Wallace abolished the Freedmen's Bureau in Maryland early in January, 1865, and made a report of its activities to the Legislature.¹²⁵ He gave a detailed account of all the suffering, sorrow, and injustice that the Negroes, in their helpless condition, endured at the time. In response to his report, the Legis-

¹²¹ *Official Records*, 1st Series, XLIII, Pt. 2, 587-588.

¹²² See A. H. Carpenter, *Military Government of Southern Territory, 1861-1865* (Washington, 1901), p. 474; *Official Records*, 1st Series, XLIII, Pt. 2, 587.

¹²³ Wallace to Stanton, December 11, 1864, *Official Records*, 1st Series, XLIII, Pt. 2, 777.

¹²⁴ See the letter of Assistant Adjutant General Samuel B. Lawrence, Baltimore, to Brigadier-General H. H. Lockwood, Commanding Third Separate Brigade on the Eastern Shore, December 2, 1864, *Official Records*, 1st Series, XLIII, Pt. 2, 278-729.

¹²⁵ *Maryland Senate Documents* (1865), Doc. J.

lature passed a bill removing practically all the disabilities placed on Negroes by the slave codes.¹²⁶ But the readjustment did not come until much injustice and many wrongs had been committed by both whites and blacks.¹²⁷

On January 5, 1865, Senator John A. J. Creswell of Maryland opened the debate in Congress on the constitutional amendment to eliminate slavery as an American institution.¹²⁸ He reviewed the history of slavery in Maryland from the earliest days, and said the institution had been a "most ungrateful mistress" for the State. He pointed out that

It has wasted our resources, paralyzed our industry, checked our growth in wealth, population, and all substantial interests, refused ingress to the intelligent and enterprising of other states and countries, and had even driven our own young men into exile. So far as we have advanced at all we have done so in spite of slavery, and by driving it before us. . . . Like another foul spirit, being driven out it may seek to tear her [Maryland], but who will woo her no more.

Creswell showed by census figures that Massachusetts and New Jersey had grown more in population and wealth than Maryland; he attributed this situation to the ill effects of slavery in Maryland. He said the good effects of emancipation were already in evidence. He quoted the *Baltimore American* to the effect that a steady stream of immigrants was passing into Maryland from Pennsylvania and other states. Free labor was becoming a "settled fact." Land purchases for settlement rather than for speculation had risen sharply in the counties since November 1. This aided Maryland, said Creswell, in assuming the place among free states "she should have occupied long ago."¹²⁹

¹²⁶ *Maryland Senate Journal* (1865), pp. 385-386; *Maryland House Journal* (1865), 752-753. The *Baltimore Sun*, January 11, 1865, described this act as follows: "All the disabilities which had necessarily attached to the negro as a consequence of the institution of slavery were removed with two exceptions, one disqualifying negroes from being witnesses in cases where white men were concerned, and the other authorizing negroes to be sold for crime for the same period that a white man might be confined in the penitentiary for the same offense."

¹²⁷ As late as November 1, 1866, General O. O. Howard, Chief of the National Freedmen's Bureau, stated in his report to the Secretary of War that "frequent complaints are received of outrages and atrocities without parallel committed against freedmen" in portions of Maryland. See the Secretary of War's report to Congress, *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Sess., 39th Cong., p. 750.

¹²⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Sess., 38th Cong., Pt. 1, pp. 120-124.

¹²⁹ The *Baltimore American* article, quoted by Creswell, itself quoted from the *Denton [Maryland] Union* which reported large sales in Caroline County. The *American* of September 8, 1865, quoted the *Princess Anne [Somerset County] Herald*

Secretary of War Stanton, in a reply to a resolution passed in the House of Representatives on January 17, 1865, said that commissioners had been appointed in Maryland and Delaware to disburse compensation to former slave owners. The commutation fund amounted to \$12,170,663.45, a portion of which had been assigned to help pay for bounties that soldiers had received.¹³⁰ This was pleasant news to Maryland slaveowners. They believed that they were justly entitled to such compensation, having freed their slaves by their own constitution. Governor Bradford referred to Lincoln's recommendation in March, 1862, and to the joint resolution of Congress, and declared in his message to the Legislature in 1865: "If there be any meaning in the language quoted it expressed a promise to that effect (compensation) and if any state can conscientiously claim a fulfillment of that promise, Maryland can." ¹³¹ Governor Swann pointed out in his inaugural address in 1865 that the "first and only authorized response of the people of Maryland to the offer of Congress was the abolition of slavery in accordance with the terms of the resolution." ¹³²

The Maryland legislature sent a committee to confer with President Lincoln about compensation. The legislature insisted that the congressional offer to aid states had been used to induce voters to support emancipation in Maryland. But compensation never became a reality, and slaveholders of the State suffered the loss of practically all their slave property.¹³³

The course of slavery and of emancipation in Maryland was now practically completed. The progress of the free Negro during the period of "Self-Reconstruction" belongs to another story.¹³⁴ The abolition of slavery in Maryland coincided in time

as saying that several sales of land had recently taken place in that county, at prices from 15 to 100% greater than the same land would have sold for in the preceding year. "We believe," said the *American*, "that this has been the result all over the State."

¹³⁰ Stanton to Schuyler Colfax, January 25, 1865, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, IV, 1075-1076.

¹³¹ *Maryland House Documents* (1865), Doc. A.

¹³² *Maryland House Documents* (1865), Doc. C.

¹³³ *Maryland House Journal* (1865), pp. 190, 336. For a discussion of this issue see James G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln* (New York, 1926), pp. 402-404.

¹³⁴ W. S. Myers, *Self-Reconstruction in Maryland*, carries the story of the Negro through the trying years after the close of the war. The progress of the Negro in Maryland in 1865 is outlined in the first annual report of the "Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People," *Appleton's*, V (1865), 529-530.

with the state and national elections of 1864. In those elections, as already noted, the unrestricted control of the Unconditional Unionists or Republicans was broken in Maryland and the Democratic party was revived. This, then, marks a new day in Maryland politics—a contest between the Republicans and the Democrats for the control of the State.

(The End)

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The East India Company and the British Empire in the Far East. By MARGUERITE EYER WILBUR. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1945. 477 pp., \$7.50.

In view of the current interest in East Indian affairs, this is a timely volume. Although not generally recognized, even by historians, any exposition of British-East India relations with respect to the early years of the seventeenth century is actually complementary to the narrative of events of the same period in Anglo-American beginnings; for at the start of the seventeenth century Britain was reaching out for commerce in the Orient while striving to establish colonies in America, and not a few of the principal actors therein performed functions in both fields.

This work is in sharp contrast to a recent volume on India by Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee, which, because of the Professor's strong anti-British bias, reminds one of the early American history textbooks on the colonial and Revolutionary periods. Mrs. Wilbur, on the contrary, impartially tells of the special blessings brought to India by the British without blinking at certain periods of exploitation which was, in lesser degree, imitative of the native potentates in exploiting their own countrymen.

In America the first English settlers dealt with such savage wrongdoings as Powhatan, Opechancanough, and Debedeavon, each having a few hundred tribal followers. In India, however, the English traders dealt with Emperors Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jehan. With the religious beliefs of the East Indians the East India Company was not concerned. In America, on the contrary, the Virginia London Company made strenuous and costly preparations for the education, uplift, and conversion of the "naturals," which efforts were summarily halted by the "General Massacre" of 1622. The story of this altruism has been almost uniformly ignored in American history, although an exception may be noted in Professor Samuel Eliot Morison's address on the three hundred and sixteenth anniversary of the signing of the *Mayflower Compact*, "The Pilgrim Fathers, Their Significance in History."

The reviewer would have been glad to note in Mrs. Wilbur's exposition more of the inter-relationships of personnel among the projectors of British enterprise in two hemispheres. She mentions briefly the "Reverend Patrick Capland" (*sic*) but does not associate him—or sundry others—with American beginnings, albeit it was in Indian waters that Copeland's sermons on converting the American Indians raised a considerable fund

towards founding the inter-racial "East India Free Schoole in Virginia," for the support of which the Virginia Company set aside one thousand acres—one of the worthy enterprises that were ended by the massacre.

The author records what may be called the "second sale of Manhattan," when she tells us that the central site of the mightiest city of modern times was exchanged by the Dutch for the island of Pularoon off the east coast of India—a marvelous bargain, from the Anglo-American point of view.

The reviewer could find no mention of Admiral Christopher Newport, of whom Boies Penrose has well said: "If Newport's voyage in the *Sarah Constant* in 1607 may be said to have laid the foundations of the United States, then his voyage with Ambassador Sir Thomas Roe in 1615 may be said to have laid the foundations of British India."

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS

Trail to California: The Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly. Edited with an introduction by DAVID MORRIS POTTER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. 266 pp. \$3.50.

In 1943 the great Coe Collection of Western Americana was presented to the Yale Library; and as a commemorative publication the Yale University Press selected from some fifty manuscript overland journals in the collection a day-by-day account kept by two young men, Vincent Geiger and Dr. Wakeman Bryarly, members of the "Charlestown Company" which left St. Joseph, Missouri, on May 10, 1849, for the great adventure of California. The journal was kept until June 23 by Geiger; from that day to the journey's end on August 30th it is in the hand of Dr. Bryarly, a Harford Countian who, by blood-kinship and through marriage with Miss Mary Sterett Gittings, was connected with many well-known Maryland families.

Dr. Bryarly, an M. D. of the University of Pennsylvania and a veteran of the Mexican War, was surgeon of the Charlestown Company, which started the journey some eighty-two strong. Although the Company was exceptionally well organized, with every precaution taken to keep out the physically unfit, the relentless pace of the overland trip, which drove men to the limits of human capacity, the hazards of bad food and water, and the endless accidents, kept the young physician busy. His account of these vicissitudes, remarkably straightforward and articulate as it is, makes absorbingly interesting reading even in these days when the taste for exciting narrative might be thought to be somewhat jaded.

The editing of the journal has been done in masterly style by Dr. Potter, who provides a preface and a critical introduction in which the Geiger-Bryarly narrative is checked against other classical overland accounts and furnished with a wealth of factual and philosophical comment. I wish it were within the scope of this short review to trace the astonishing progress of the manuscript of this diary from the home of some unworldly

Maryland gentlefolk to the vaults of the Yale Library. However, the tale, if told, would undoubtedly raise vain hopes and cause much dust to be disturbed to no purpose in quiet country attics. Such coincidences seldom happen twice.

J. G. D. PAUL

The Beleaguered City. By ALFRED HOYT BILL. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946. 313 pp. \$3.00.

Recent headlines have recorded the valiant defenses of such cities as Warsaw, London and Stalingrad against military force, and yet no city in history can hail a more gallant stand than that of Richmond of the 1861-1865 years. Its struggles to survive as a proud and symbolic social unit against pressures of enemy arms and its own shortcomings stand alone in this country's history.

Students of the military sciences will reaffirm the axiom that the destruction of armies and not cities or geographic obstacles must be the goal of generals; yet Richmond was a prime objective of McDowell, McClellan, Burnside, Hooker and Grant; it was tenaciously defended by Johnston, Beauregard, Jackson and Lee. The city of Richmond during those fateful years stood as a living symbol of the unified effort of a group of states. As early as May of 1862 it was said that "the whole city knew that, if Richmond fell, the Confederacy would fall with it."

The hopes and fears of the populace rose and fell with each tide of telegraphed reports from the battle fronts columned in the *Richmond Examiner*. Early successes brought out many gala parties at the Spotswood House and Exchange Hotel as well as in the mansions on Marshall and Broad Streets. Many of the luxuries and staples of living were made available by blockade runners; prices were rising because of scarcities and increased demands. Efforts were being made by all to mold the regiments into stronger fighting units. Even Maryland's Mrs. Bradley Johnston made a good story of how she had "out-generaled" the Governor of North Carolina in obtaining badly needed uniforms, arms and ammunition for her husband's regiment. Announcements were posted on public buildings to the effect that "recruits are now being solicited for the First Maryland Regiment."

With economic and military reverses, the Richmond scene began to change to one of unbelieving concern, of hardships and shortages; it grew to look like the beleaguered fortress that it was. Soldiers were everywhere. Guns and caissons clanked over the cobbles behind sweat-caked horses that were mere racks of bones. The hospitals were filled with wounded from The Wilderness; cemeteries grew prodigiously. Flour brought three hundred dollars a barrel. A single cabbage cost ten dollars, while sugar sold for ten dollars a pound and milk at \$2.50 a quart when it was to be had at all. Still the dances and evening band concerts went on with gaily dressed girls and young veterans of the Washington Artillery making up in gaiety what was materially lacking.

The final dark days gave the city a drab, despairing "last act costume"; yet, in the final throes, a calmness contained the inhabitants to the end. Their courage never failed.

Mr. Bill has carefully recorded each human interest detail of the four year passage after close study of diaries, letters and newspaper accounts, and has molded this great story into an inspired cyclorama of that era.

It is an epoch of steadfastness and quiet heroism. The triumph of the people over their discontent, their disappointment and their discouragement at the selfishness, bungling and mismanagement from which they suffered almost as severely as from the acts of their enemies, was their greatest achievement—that which made the four terrible years in Richmond one of the greatest episodes of American history.

EDWARD M. STRAUSS, JR.

The Last of the Cocked Hats: James Monroe and the Virginia Dynasty.

By ARTHUR STYRON. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945. xiii, 480 pp. \$3.50.

Of the Presidents who preceded Lincoln the names most familiar are Washington, Jefferson, Jackson and Monroe. Few decades pass which fail to record the appearance of a book about Washington, Jefferson or Jackson. This is because they are recognized as great figures in our past.

Monroe's name is familiar for a different reason. It is linked with the hemispheric policy which bears his name. But for the Monroe Doctrine its author would be as little known to the man in the street as Millard Fillmore or Franklin Pierce. Prior to the work under review but two Monroe biographies have appeared—one in the "American Statesmen Series" by Dr. Daniel C. Gilman and one by George Morgan (1921). Neither attempts a full documentation or pretends to be definitive.

Retired in his middle fifties from the ministry, in which he was trained at The General Seminary of New York, Mr. Styron, the author, was educated at the University of North Carolina and The University of the South.

This is his second book dealing with the American scene, his first being a biography of John C. Calhoun, "The Iron Man," which appeared in 1935. As Calhoun and Monroe were not only contemporaries but also close friends much of the ground has been covered in his Calhoun.

Mr. Styron is interested in the impact of economics and sociology upon current political events and in this field are conspicuous the problems created by slavery and the growth of industrialism in New England, which brought about the Missouri Compromise, an attempt at appeasement which proved as futile to prevent the War between the States as did that at Munich to prevent World War II. This measure, together with the acquisition of Florida, the denial of the power of the Federal Government to supply money for internal improvements and the Monroe Doctrine,

dwarf Monroe's activities as Secretary of State in Madison's cabinet, especially his activities in the War of 1812, and Mr. Styron neglects the opportunity to bring them into a better perspective and to supply what both Gilman and Morgan have omitted. Although the instructions to the American Commissioners at Ghent were directed from Monroe's office, one will have to look elsewhere for an account of the gradual reshaping of the American policy which made the treaty possible.

The brief notice (pp. 325-31) accorded the War of 1812 in this work of 450 pages displays inaccuracies totally at variance with the high standard shown elsewhere in the text. Calling Fort McHenry "Fort McPherson" may be attributed to a slip in proof-reading inasmuch as in a similar paragraph in the author's Calhoun the Fort is correctly named, but other statements cannot be so readily excused. Totally lacking support are the following: That Madison placed Armstrong in supreme command when word that the British were moving on Washington; "that on the twenty-third (of August) when the British fleet was before Fort Washington and a landing force within ten miles of the capitol" the exodus from Washington began and included "the Secretary [Monroe?] and the president." The British fleet was, of course, anchored in the Patuxent. It was a British squadron that ascended the Potomac, and it did not reach Fort Washington until August 27th. The only "exodus" of the President and members of his cabinet was that from the field of battle at Bladensburg, memorialized and lampooned in the verses called "The Bladensburg Races," the author of which remains unknown to this day.

Challenging the author's statement that no one thought of defending the Bladensburg Road is Swanson's *The Perilous Fight*, recently published, in which Mr. Styron will find much about Monroe's activities calculated to further diminish his reputation as a military figure.

These, however, are minor errors compared to that which the author has committed in claiming a refusal by Gen. W. H. Winder to obey an order given him directly by Monroe after the latter had assumed command of the military forces in and around Washington at the direction of the President upon their return to the capital on August 27th. As the same claim is made by Morgan in his *Monroe* in a recital of the incident varying in details from the author's, opportunity will be seized to examine the record.

The incident deals with an order given by Monroe with reference to batteries established on the Virginia Shore of the Potomac in the vicinity of Washington and is mentioned by Dr. Gilman in his *Monroe*, who gives as his authority a memorandum to be found in the Monroe MSS. The officer named in the MSS. quoted by Gilman is not General Winder but Colonel Winder and the date is fixed as August 28th. On that date General Winder was in Baltimore where he had arrived on the evening of August 26th, having left Montgomery Court House on the morning of the same day, and to which place a letter was sent him by Armstrong from Washington on the 29th. As told by Morgan and Mr. Styron, Colonel

Winder is stepped up in rank to General Winder. Not only was General Winder at the time the incident occurred forty miles away at Baltimore, but the officer named as Colonel Winder cannot be identified, since there was no field officer named Winder who served in the War of 1812 in that rank at that time. Henry Adams in his *History*, notices the incident but indicates that the officer concerned was not named or further identified than by the initial "W." He suggests that it may have been Wadsworth (Col. Decius Wadsworth). General Winder was one officer serving in the War of 1812 who enjoyed Monroe's fullest confidence and with whom he was on terms of intimacy unbroken until Winder's untimely death in 1824. This intimacy and Winder's unswerving loyalty to Monroe, abundantly proven by the letters that passed between them, furnish additional proof that Winder could not possibly have figured in an act of insubordination resulting in his being disgracefully ordered off the field as claimed.

The author's failure to make himself familiar with the incidents of the War of 1812 impairs his work as an authority with respect to them, but it remains, nevertheless, agreeable and interesting reading.

A lengthy bibliography is furnished but it fails to include Armstrong's *Notice of the War of 1812* and Wilkinson's *Memoirs* and the writer has not had access to the Winder MSS. in the Johns Hopkins University.

The book is replete with quotations for which references are not given. It lacks both full documentation and a good index. One closes it in the conviction that a definitive life of the man who, as Dr. Gilman declares, is "inadequately appreciated" is yet to be written.

RALPH ROBINSON

Alexandria Houses, 1750-1830. By DEERING DAVIS, STEPHEN P. DORSEY, and RALPH COLE HALL. New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1946. 128 pp. \$5.00.

The chief value of this book on the domestic architecture of the town of Alexandria in Virginia is its photographs and drawings. It comprises principally a catalogue of old houses, with introductory chapters on the history and architecture of the city.

According to the authors, Alexandria was surveyed in 1749 with the assistance of George Washington, and her founders bore names that have become a source of deep pride to all Americans. "In the truest sense of the word," this was Washington's "home town." "Small wonder that little can be said of Alexandria without mentioning Washington!" There was spilled the first blood in the Civil War; nevertheless wars have left "few scars" upon the town. In the number of excellent old buildings, she is the "richest city of the middle Eastern seaboard," according to the authors, who perhaps have not visited Annapolis, Maryland.

To one trained in the history of architecture many of the technical

statements seem extravagant. Was the English Baroque really the "predominating influence on the decorative arts of Eighteenth Century North America"? The student of Quebec, New Amsterdam, Florida, New Orleans, Santa Fe and Old Mexico would be inclined to disagree. Are the "finest houses" truly "without peer among those of similar type in England" (page 15)? To anyone familiar with the English domestic scene a declaration of this kind might seem fantastic. In truth the colonies never reached the heights of great Blenheim Palace near Oxford.

Is it a fact that the "design source" of the smaller dwellings of pre-nineteenth-century date in this country "has been completely overlooked by all but Fiske Kimball in his 'Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic'" (page 16)? There are plenty of volumes covering such design source, including the reviewer's Jamestown work. It is also now known that the earliest Virginia and Maryland house plan does *not* comprise one great chamber with fireplace at each end (page 17).

Alexandria building is outstanding, according to the authors, and is almost unequalled in its devotion to transitional or "hold-over" styles—in other words the lag in building fashions was long. The authors rightly show that mid-Georgian characteristics are typical of Alexandria, and the excellent photographs tend to prove the theory. Supplementing the work are two old plats of the town, one officially drawn by Washington when seventeen years old.

The historical side of the work cannot be checked; unfortunately there are no index, bibliography or references, and there are typographical errors, like "Lord Bottourt." The three architectural restorations, one of Washington's Town House, another of Mount Vernon, appear to a professional weak and unconvincing drawings. About one-third of the photographs of the book were reproduced from the records of the Historic American Buildings Survey. Other photographs are by the expert, Frances Benjamin Johnston.

There are so many errors on the technical side that it would have improved the book if the authors had confined themselves strictly to Alexandria. However, the work is a handsome one, and, if for no other reason, was worth doing because of the authority and value of the pictures.

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

Agnes Scott College.

West Virginia Place Names, Their Origin and Meaning, Including the Nomenclature of the Streams and Mountains. By HAMILL KENNY. Piedmont, West Virginia: The Place Name Press, 1945. xii, 768 pp. \$6.00.

To the ever-increasing list of monographs on American place names, *West Virginia Place Names* by Hamill Kenny is a distinguished and scholarly addition. For a long time, scholarly America has become more and more conscious of the importance of this study which gives information on men, manners, and customs and preserves words not otherwise recorded.

Toponymy is a fascinating subject. As a subject, it is valuable in itself; for place names deserve as much attention as other words in the language. Toponymy is a faithful handmaid of history and sheds useful light on obscure and well-nigh forgotten lore. As that English pioneer, the Rev. James B. Johnson, observed, place names serve a natural and legitimate curiosity in man: they reveal religious aspirations, social conditions, modes of thought, taste and feeling, and racial characteristics. To Dr. Johnson's list, we might add, place names show the pioneers' triumphs and the heroes' rewards.

As a nation, we are behind England and the Scandinavian states in the development of this field. In Sweden and Denmark there is organized research aided by the state. America has nothing to compare with *The Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*. Nor again have we any society to direct, guide, and synchronize our efforts as the English Place-Name Society, which recently produced its nineteenth scholarly and uniform volume on English counties. Mr. Kenny's volume will bear favorable comparison with the best American and even English works on the subject. The print is clear, the paper excellent, the binding strong; in a word, the format is attractive in every way. As for content, the book is excellent both in its matter and in its manner of presentation, the scope is sufficiently broad, and the methods are both scientific and informative. Unlike most American books on toponymy, this book has an extremely valuable index of thirty-seven pages.

West Virginia Place Names makes use of every available means of arriving at sound conclusions: atlases, gazetteers, registers, guides, lists of every description, newspapers, magazines, journals, books, telephone directories, whole series of maps especially those of the U. S. Geological Survey, the U. S. Official Postal Guide, and, where all else failed, research in person and by letter. No book of this sort can lay claim to completeness. The authority on Oregon place names, Lewis A. MacArthur, estimates that Oregon has over fifty thousand place names! Mr. Kenny's book includes the names of only the inhabited places, past or present, and the nomenclature of the streams and mountains. Though the name *West Virginia* itself is explained, it is to be regretted that county names do not appear save in another use of their names. Surely county names are within the scope of such a work. One also misses a map, preferably a large, folded map in

a pocket on the back cover, such as is customarily found in English works. Such a map could not show everything, but it would be a great help.

For the general reader as opposed to the scholar, the most useful part of Mr. Kenny's treatise is his introductory essay of sixty-five pages. Apart from the content-value of the volume, this essay deserves to be read for its own sake; for it ties together the vast number of seemingly unrelated place names into an understandable unit. This essay is concerned chiefly with the Indian, frontiersman, and pioneer as they gave their names to the land; if these groups are not all-inclusive, they none the less explain most place names. Philippi and Troy emerge without classical significance. Amongst others Buckhannon, Petersburg and Wheeling are subjects of much dispute. A large number of post offices in the state were named for women. Wewanta arose from the residents' cry: "We wanta post office"!

This work, projected and written over a period of twelve years, is painstaking, accurate, detailed. No doubt, it will be supplemented by additional place names from time to time; but it will not be supplanted as the West Virginia authority. One can hope that someone possessing a deep love, infinite patience, and sound scholarship will do for Maryland what Hamill Kenny has done for his native state.

Would it be out of place, in conclusion, to suggest a more practical approach to the study of place names? Place names studies have been begun with the larger units, the states. If, instead, counties were place-named first, a state place name book would involve much less labor and yet be more complete and accurate. In many ways, only the local authority is aware of the many factors involved in this study. One can hope to see many more county works like George MacReynolds' *Place Names in Bucks County, Pennsylvania*, as the ideal working units for state syntheses.

JOHN J. TIERNEY, S.S.

St. Charles College,
Catonsville.

The South Carolina Rice Plantation: As Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston. Edited by J[AMES] H. EASTERBY. [Prepared and published under the direction of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund Committee of the American Historical Association] Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. xxi, 478 pp. \$5.00.

No book that helps to cut away some of the magnolia and moss from the old rice plantation can fail to be gratefully received by students of the economic and social history of the ante-bellum South. The Allston Collection of several thousand items includes personal and business letters, account books, factors' and overseers' reports, bills of sale, lists of slaves, etc. From this wealth of manuscript material Mr. Easterby has selected 489 items which are chronologically listed in a convenient calendar that follows the editor's Preface. The items printed in the text were selected

with the view to present those which best serve to mirror "the value of the record as evidence of the life on a rice plantation."

The book reveals the part played by Allston in the South Carolina political arena; first as surveyor-general of the state, later as delegate and senator in the General Assembly and finally as Governor in 1856. Throughout this 35 year period of active participation in South Carolina politics Allston espoused the principles of the states-right party. But the focal point of the documents is primarily that of Allston as rice planter during the years when that crop was such a dominant force in the economic and social life of the South Carolina coastal region. As such they are significant. Mr. Easterby, in a scholarly introduction, has summarized the general nature of the papers and supplied a digest of the extent of the plantations and their Georgetown District setting, the overseers who worked for the Allston family, the slaves, the production and marketing of the crops, and of plantation finance. The letters and other documents are printed in a chronological arrangement within the following classifications: Allston family letters, overseers' report and other documents, factors' correspondence, and a final grouping of miscellaneous documents. Individually, they are sharp in detail. Collectively, they span the period of years from 1810 to 1868. But the value of the record would have been increased if there had been a fuller representation for the periods from 1824 to 1835 and from 1839 to 1849. The footnotes are adequate and the index is satisfactory.

Here is a collection of documents that helps to illuminate the many daily problems encountered by the rice planter—problems stemming out of the relationships of slaves, overseers and planter, as well as those arising out of crop cultivation and the uncertainties of the elements. Here, too, is evidence of the place and importance of the South Carolina rice industry in the agricultural life of the nation.

Too much of what has been written about this phase of southern history is strong in romantic interpretation. The volume under review adds to the list of books about the rice plantation of the ante-bellum South, not as an addition to the romantic tradition, but rather, as a substantial documentary record of the life of the rice plantation of South Carolina.

ARTHUR A. KNAPP

The Johns Hopkins University.

Spearhead in the West, 1941-45. The Third Armored Division. [Compiled by the officers and men of the . . . Division. Frankfurt am Main: 1945] 260 pp.

"Average Americans" from all walks of life are said to have made up the Third Armored Division. The compilers of this book present an interesting and detailed account of how a citizen unit was welded into one of the nation's outstanding combat teams. The history is divided into

an explanation of the organization of the Division, a narration in popular style of the Division's war story, and an accounting of its official combat record. Excellent maps illustrate the Division's odyssey as well as many photographs. The Third Armored Division trained long and arduously in the United States and England, landed at Omaha Beach in Normandy, and smashed its way through five bitter campaigns to the Elbe River before final victory. A unit of the 1st Army, the Third Armored Division has a lengthy list of proud accomplishments. The book presents a vivid picture of modern war.

H. R. MANAKEE

Marylanders in Italy. Compiled by JAMES LOUIS WINGATE, Public Relations Section, Fifth Army. Centreville: Queen Anne's Publishing Company, 1945. 139 pp.

The author of this booklet outlines very concisely the course of the difficult Italian Campaign from the landings at Salerno and Paestum until the surrender of the German Armies in northern Italy on May 2, 1945. He then lists by name, rank and unit, Marylanders, who served in Italy together with sketches of the battles in which they fought, or descriptions of the service tasks in which they engaged. In his difficult task, the author has seemingly succeeded in building a rather complete roster of Marylanders in the ground forces. Personnel of the Army Air Corps and of the United States Navy are not covered.

H. R. M.

Florida During the Territorial Days. By SIDNEY WALTER MARTIN. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1944. ix, 308 pp. \$3.00.

Florida Becomes A State. Ed. at Florida State Library. Tallahassee: Florida Centennial Commission, 1945. xi, 481 pp. \$3.50.

The celebration of Florida's Centennial in 1945 was the inspiration for a number of publications about the State and various periods of its history. Dr. Martin's work, *Florida During the Territorial Days*, covers the quarter of a century between Spanish occupation and arrival at statehood. It discusses in order the arrival of the Americans, the military governorship of Andrew Jackson, the politics of the period, and the administration of Governor William P. Duval. Then the question of lands, the social and economic transition (with interesting comments on crops and industries), internal improvements (including railroads and banks), frontier towns, and the Indian problem, each receives full treatment. Finally, the movement for statehood and its successful culmination in 1845 after several years of effort brings the volume to an appropriate conclusion. It is apparent from the footnotes that newspaper files provided much material, although the Bibliography lists numerous manuscript collections and church records, as well as the usual secondary and monographic sources. The book is entirely readable—not always the case with such studies—and there is a good index.

Florida Becomes A State is more of a reference book or collection of source materials. There is a Foreword, "Social Life in Florida in 1845," by W. T. Cash, State Librarian, which describes briefly the status of homes, religion, education, recreations, crime, travel, dress, and folklore at the time Florida entered the Union. The agitation for statehood, the St. Joseph Convention, and the struggle for admission are discussed by Dorothy Dodd, Archivist in the Florida State Library. She has edited the documents, which fill four-fifths of the volume, and of which the proceedings of the St. Joseph Convention in December, 1838, form a large part. This material is important for those who wish to delve in the history of Florida for the given period, but its appeal is more or less limited.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

History of the Woman's Club of Govans . . . By FRANCES SIDWELL BENSON. [Baltimore: The Club] 1945. [98 pp.]

This is the story of an organization which has been more than an active and flourishing club. It is a picture as well of growth and development in one of the populous communities in the Baltimore area, especially of improvement in living conditions and cultural advantages. The account is presented through the various activities of the Club such as library, music, civics, legislation and public welfare work. Through the whole, however, runs the thread of organized effort on behalf of every worthy undertaking for the community's good. The early Neighborhood Improvement Club, predecessor of the Woman's Club, devoted itself to better water and sidewalks as the present membership devotes itself to literature, art and horticulture.

JAMES W. FOSTER

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

- A Checklist of Pennsylvania Newspapers. Vol. I: Philadelphia County.* Prepared by the Pennsylvania Historical Survey . . . W. P. A., Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1944. xiii, 321 pp.
- Henry Barnard's American Journal of Education.* By RICHARD EMMONS THURSFIELD. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Ser. LXIII, No. 1). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1945. 359, xiv pp. \$3.75.
- The Newspaper, Its Making and Its Meaning.* By Members of the Staff of The New York Times . . . New York: Scribner, 1945. [viii] 207 pp. \$2.00.
- Sergeant S. Prentiss, Whig Orator of the Old South.* By DALLAS C. DICKEY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1945. [ix] 422 pp. \$4.00.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Eighteenth Century Charts of the Chesapeake—Any information about Captain Walter Hoxton and his chart of Chesapeake Bay, London, 1735, or about Anthony Smith, pilot of St. Mary's, and his chart of Chesapeake Bay, London, 1776, would be very much appreciated by

ARTHUR PIERCE MIDDLETON,
Box 1387, Williamsburg, Va.

Maryland Genealogy—Attention is again called to the prize for the most generally useful genealogical compilation which will be awarded by the Society under the endowment set up last winter by Mrs. Sumner A. Parker. The income from the sum of \$1,000 which Mrs. Parker has donated, amounting to perhaps \$30, will be awarded to the compiler of the best manuscript received by the Society during 1946. The judges will be Mr. William B. Marye, chairman, Mrs. Thomas S. George and the Director of the Society. The material submitted should be in typed form, clearly organized, and must treat some family identified with Maryland. By "most useful" is meant a pedigree that will assist many searchers in this area. The closing date for entries is December 31, 1946.

THE COVER PICTURE

To accompany the articles in this number which mention Annapolis at the time of the Revolution and afterward, a lithograph of the State House and nearby buildings has been chosen for the cover. While not contemporary, the view was made not much more than a half-century later and probably can be considered an accurate representation. It is to be noted, however, that the State House dome was not built until after the Revolution.

The buildings shown are, left to right, a residence, State House, Armory, unidentified structure, and old Assembly House, later the Treasury.

The view was published by E. Weber and Company of Baltimore and appeared as a frontispiece for David Ridgely's *Annals of Annapolis* (1841).

CONTRIBUTORS

Member of the Society's staff for the past three years, ELIZABETH MERRITT holds a doctorate in history from Johns Hopkins University and was a member of the political science department at Goucher College for 13 years. She discovered the papers described in the course of her work of indexing certain manuscripts of the Society. ☆ EDITH R. BEVAN (Mrs. William F. Bevan) is one of the authors of *The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners* (1941) and an authority on American bookplates, especially those of Maryland. She has previously contributed to these pages. ☆ DR. LOUIS TAYLOR MERRILL is Professor of History at Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin. Formerly on the staff of the *United States News*, he has been a member of the Beloit faculty since 1938. He holds the degree of Ph.D. in history from the University of Chicago. ☆ DR. CHARLES BRANCH CLARK, now at West Georgia College, will return to his native State and to his alma mater for the next academic year when he will become Professor of History at Washington College, Chestertown, Md.

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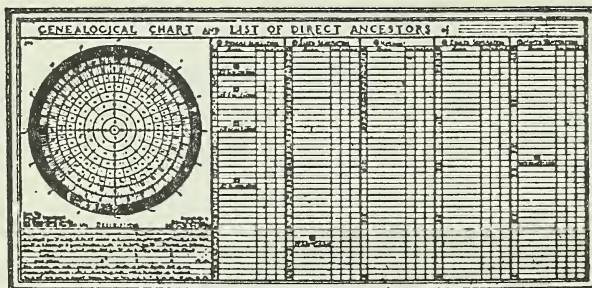
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The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, has been engaged in collecting, preserving and disseminating information relating to the history of the State. Those interested in the objects of the Society are invited to have their names proposed for membership. The annual dues are \$5.00, life membership \$100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sundays.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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SEPTEMBER, 1946

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MRS. GREENHOW AND THE REBEL SPY RING

By LOUIS A. SIGAUD



ON July 16, 1861, as Beauregard waited patiently for McDowell to move against him, a rebel messenger left Washington. This was young Betty Duval with a cipher message from Mrs. Rose O'Neale Greenhow.¹ Concealing the small note in the coils of her long, black hair,² Betty proceeded down the Potomac on the Maryland side, crossed near Dumfries, and reached General Bonham's headquarters.³ According to Burton Harrison, secretary to President Davis, the deciphered message read:

McDowell has certainly been ordered to advance on the sixteenth.

R. O. G.⁴

¹ Beauregard to Miss Augusta J. Evans, Mar. 24, 1863. War Department, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901) (hereafter cited as *O. R.*), Ser. I, LI, Part II, 688-89.

² Belle Boyd, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* (New York, 1865), p. 91-92.

³ Mrs. Burton (Constance Cary) Harrison, *Recollections, Grave and Gay* (New York, 1911), p. 53-54.

⁴ *Ibid.* Mrs. Harrison further identifies "R. O. G." as "a member of the family of Mrs. Dolly Madison, who actually enabled the Confederate generals to win that important victory in July 1861."

Immediately, Beauregard relates, he dispatched his aide, Colonel J. S. Preston, to inform President Davis, and prepared to meet the attack. That night, or early on the 17th, another cipher message was brought from Mrs. Greenhow by a Mr. Donellan. This stated the Federals were 50,000 strong, and were to move on Manassas from Arlington Heights and Alexandria via Fairfax Court House and Centerville. This news was wired President Davis, who replied at noon on the 17th that Johnston should be ordered to join Beauregard.⁵

By then the advancing Federals had driven in the Confederate pickets, and it seemed Johnston would come too late. But he arrived on the 20th at noon, two days after the initial Union success at Bull Run, and at 7 A. M. on the 21st Beauregard advanced confidently to win his great triumph at Manassas.⁶

The Confederate commander has credited Colonel Thomas Jordan, his adjutant general, with having made arrangements for most accurate information from persons in Washington of which "politicians high in council, as well as War Department clerks, were the unconscious ducts." Northern newspapers were also forwarded regularly from Washington, and on July 4th Southern pickets had captured a soldier on duty in the adjutant-general's office of McDowell's command who revealed without reluctance the strength of the Federal force as he had computed it officially as of July 1st. With such detailed information, and as Mrs. Greenhow claims she had received a copy of the order to McDowell to advance, Beauregard could indeed assert: "I was almost as well advised of the strength of the hostile army in my front as its commander."⁷

Jordan had resigned from the U. S. Army only two months before Manassas,⁸ and before leaving Washington had organized the effective intelligence service mentioned by Beauregard. Prominent among his agents was Rose O'Neale Greenhow,⁹ considered

⁵ Beauregard to Miss Evans. *O. R.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 688-89.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Beauregard, "The First Battle of Bull Run," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1888), I, 197-98.

⁸ Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the U. S. Army* (Washington, 1903), I, 584.

⁹ Jordan to Acting Secretary of War Benjamin, Oct. 29, 1861. Refers to "a name I adopted before leaving Washington for purposes of cipher correspondence with Mrs. Greenhow." *O. R.*, Ser. I, V, 928.

the most persuasive woman in Washington,¹⁰ and who became most assertive and dangerous in furthering the interests of the South in the highest Federal circles. About forty-four years of age, she was tall and well-formed, had a graceful and dignified carriage, small hands and feet, firm teeth, an olive complexion, black eyes, and black hair reluctantly turning grey. Famous for her beauty, brilliance of conversation, highly placed connections, and aptitude for intrigue, she had a forthright and commanding personality, and magnificently gracious manners bordering on the theatrical.¹¹

As early as May, 1860, Lieutenant-Colonel E. D. Keyes, who had become military secretary to aged General Winfield Scott when Colonel Robert E. Lee refused appointment¹² had been appalled by the incandescent treason of numerous charming Southern matrons and damsels, including Mrs. Greenhow, whom he met at formal dinners at the home of her niece, Mrs. Stephen A. Douglas, and elsewhere. In his memoirs he recalls vividly how "Mrs. Greenough" sought ardently to undermine his allegiance. Professing that he was too far along in years to be endangered, he admits, however, that the rebel ladies who coaxed him were the most attractive in the world and often lured him to the very brink of the precipice.¹³

When the broken Northern forces streamed back in disorder from Manassas to Washington, McDowell lost his command. At the end of July George B. McClellan assumed charge and began to recreate the Union army. One of his first acts was to form a secret service unit and to place Allan Pinkerton at its head. Pinkerton, known to his agents as "Major Allen" and "Hutchinson," soon discovered that the intriguing Southern ladies Lieutenant-Colonel Keyes had repulsed had furnished the rebel forces with the position of every Union regiment and brigade, and had revealed the contemplated movements of the commanders and the hour of action. Indeed he learned that it was openly boasted in Washington that the secret information given the rebel generals had been the main cause for the crushing defeat at Manassas.¹⁴

¹⁰ General E. D. Keyes, *Fifty Years' Observation of Men and Events* (New York, 1884), p. 330.

¹¹ General W. E. Doster, *Lincoln and Episodes of the Civil War* (New York, 1915), p. 79-80.

¹² Keyes, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

¹⁴ Allan Pinkerton, *The Spy of the Rebellion* (New York, 1900), pp. 243, 245, and 250-51.

Until then the Federal Government had not wished to believe that harm could result from the activities of the feminine Southern partisans, and had felt it would not be chivalrous to take resolute steps against them. But once the effect of their treason was clearly evident, it was decided that such future activities would be punished by confining the culprits or exiling them to the South.¹⁵

One immediate result was that Thomas A. Scott, Assistant Secretary of War, instructed Pinkerton to have watched a lady believed to be furnishing military information to the rebels. All persons entering or leaving her house were to be placed under close surveillance and their identity established. If they attempted to pass through the military lines, they were to be arrested at once and searched. Reports were to be made to the Assistant Secretary daily.¹⁶

The suspected lady was Mrs. Rose O'Neale Greenhow. Taking several operatives with him, including three named Bridgeman, Ascot, and Pryce Lewis, the secret service chief placed his men about the Greenhow home on a dark, rainy night. He had scarcely done so when a man in uniform approached the house and was admitted. Peering through a window, Pinkerton saw Mrs. Greenhow greet her visitor cordially and recognized the man as a regular army infantry captain in command of a Provost Marshal station. An hour later, when the officer left, Pinkerton and Ascot trailed him. At Pennsylvania Avenue and 15th Street the captain entered a building. As the secret service men tried to follow him, four armed soldiers came out and placed them under arrest.¹⁷

Unwilling to divulge their real mission, Pinkerton and Ascot were kept in the guardhouse overnight. The next morning they succeeded in getting word of their predicament to Assistant Secretary Scott and were released. The captain, whose identity

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 252-54. Pinkerton states Mrs. Greenhow's home was at the corner of 13th and I Streets. Pryce Lewis states it was near that of Corcoran, the banker. Boyd's 1860 *Directory of Washington* gives it as 398 16th St., W.

¹⁷ Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, p. 254-61. Pryce Lewis in his "Memoirs" (unpublished), p. 102-3, edited by Major David E. Cronin, First N. Y. Mounted Rifles, states Pinkerton remained at a window several minutes, that an hour later a man came out, and that when Pinkerton and "Scott" (Ascot) followed him, Lewis and Bridgeman remained to watch the house. The Lewis "Memoirs" are owned by Harriet H. Shoen, of New York City, who obtained them from Miss Mary Lewis, daughter of the Pinkerton agent.

Pinkerton conceals by giving him the fictitious name of "Ellison," was called before the Assistant Secretary the same day. Claiming he had taken his pursuers for foot-pads, he denied having dealt with the rebels. However, according to Pinkerton, search of the officer's effects revealed he was furnishing information to the enemy. He was imprisoned for more than a year, and broken in health and spirit, died shortly after his release.¹⁸

In her book Mrs. Greenhow discreetly withholds the name of the officer and indicates the incident occurred some hours after her arrest. She admits only that the officer was about to call on her when Pinkerton first observed him, and adds with satisfaction that he, as a Provost Marshal, arrested his pursuers and held them overnight.¹⁹ But Pryce Lewis, condemned to death as a Yankee spy only eight months later in Richmond, is more informative in his memoirs. He discloses that his chief, when released, ordered him to shadow the captain. In weeks of surveillance Lewis noted suspicious conduct on occasion but not to a degree to justify severe measures. Pinkerton was vindictive, however, and ordered his arrest.²⁰

While Pinkerton says only that "Ellison" died, Lewis states the officer was named Elwood and committed suicide in Old Capitol Prison.²¹ The only regular army officer of that name was John Elwood of the 5th Infantry who was a captain when he died on December 3, 1862.²² In 1915 General W. E. Doster, who in 1862 was Provost Marshal of the District of Columbia, recalled an incident regarding an army captain named Elwood. The latter, arrested by order of Secretary Stanton on suspicion of taking Government funds, had been confined for months in the Carroll Annex of the Old Capitol Prison. Noting in a morning report that a prisoner had killed himself, Doster had investigated. Later he wrote in his memoirs: "We found poor Elwood, his throat cut by his pen-knife, on the floor of a little chamber." According to General Doster, Elwood had been kept in solitary confinement and allowed to communicate only with a War

¹⁸ Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, p. 261-68. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 103-04, adds details Pinkerton gave Lewis of the guardhouse incident.

¹⁹ Mrs. Greenhow, *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington* (London, 1863), p. 67.

²⁰ Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 105-06.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 404.

Department detective who visited him daily, made him confess "to all sorts of things" and finally so mixed up his mind that in despair he took his life. Doster, a skillful lawyer who later fought ably for two of the doomed defendants in the Lincoln assassination trial, sensed that there was something mysterious in the Elwood case. He noted that officers who saw the body expressed surprise that Elwood had not been tried by court-martial. And Doster wondered why, if guilty, had it been necessary to worm information out of the secluded prisoner? Whoever before, he asked, had dared to deprive an officer of his right to appeal to the President? ²³

Apparently Doster did not know that the dead man had been in touch with Mrs. Greenhow. And probably neither Doster nor Pryce Lewis knew about the Howard case. Some months after Lewis reported to Pinkerton that Elwood's conduct was suspicious, the secret service chief sent his right-hand man, Timothy Webster, south. Crossing the Potomac, Webster rescued two Southern ladies in a storm and picked up a packet one of them had dropped. This contained a detailed map of the Washington area on which were noted accurately the location and strength of the Federal forces. Webster forwarded the packet to Pinkerton by another agent returning north. An investigation followed. ²⁴

The trail led to the Provost Marshal's office where a clerk named James Howard confessed transmitting the packet and implicated others. ²⁵ There is no record that Howard named Elwood, and Pinkerton, while stating Elwood furnished information to the enemy, does not connect the two men. But Webster found the map in December, 1861, and Elwood, though involved with Mrs. Greenwood as early as August, does not seem to have been arrested until December or later. Moreover, it appears from Doster, Pinkerton, and Lewis that the actual reason for Elwood's arrest and the daily inquisition that drove him to suicide was far more serious than mere suspicion that he had taken Government funds.

Mrs. Greenhow was arrested on August 23, 1861, by order of the War Department, charged with being a spy and furnishing insurgent generals with important military information. ²⁶ Accord-

²³ Doster, *op. cit.*, p. 109-11.

²⁴ Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, 468-80.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ State Department Record Book. O. R., Ser. II, II, 561.

ing to Lewis, Pinkerton and he were accompanied on this mission by Assistant Secretary of War Scott but Mrs. Greenhow mentions only Pinkerton in uniform and a man in civilian attire.²⁷ Mrs. Greenhow, Pinkerton recorded, had been using her almost irresistible seductive powers to induce persons holding responsible Government positions to be disloyal, and was in touch with the enemy. Her many visitors also included several earnest and sincere Senators and Representatives whose loyalty was unquestioned but who were "perhaps" in ignorance of the lady's true character.²⁸

A search of her house revealed many incriminating papers. Some, including messages in cipher, had been torn hurriedly and thrown in a stove but not destroyed. These were turned over to the War Department for further examination. A heavy guard was maintained over the prisoner in her own home, but, with the hope of intercepting interesting visitors or messages, no men were posted outside. The first two victims, William J. Walker and F. Rennehan, called late that night. Questioned by Assistant Secretary Scott, they refused to state their business, blandly professed to be making only a friendly call, and were consigned to the Old Capitol Prison. Pinkerton believed they had come to receive information and convey it to the enemy. Despite many efforts to secure Walker's release, two months elapsed before he was freed and then only upon taking an oath of allegiance containing the significant clause that he was not to live in Washington without permission from the Secretary of State.²⁹

For days before Mrs. Greenhow's arrest, Pinkerton's agents had observed that a certain man called on her almost every evening. He was, says Pinkerton, ostensibly an attorney but actually a Southern spy with a number of men and women under him.³⁰ After Mrs. Greenhow's arrest there were found among the torn papers in her stove the fragments of a note to her. It was from G. Donellan, a former clerk of the Department of the Interior, who had delivered her second cipher message to the Confederates before the battle of Manassas. Dated July 20th, the note introduced its bearer, Colonel Thompson, a South Carolina lawyer,

²⁷ Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

²⁸ Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, p. 268. Also Pinkerton to Provost Marshal General Porter, Nov. —, 1861; *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 566-69.

²⁹ *O. R.*, *loc. cit.* For Walker's release, see *ibid.*, p. 571.

³⁰ Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, p. 268-69.

as a willing carrier of dispatches regarding Federal military movements in the next few days. It added that Donellan had information to convey which might prove valuable and stated Thompson would inform her verbally as to the extent of his information.³¹

Pinkerton had Thompson shadowed immediately. It was soon learned that he was in intimate contact with all leading local rebel sympathizers. These included a Dr. Van Camp, and William T. Smithson, a banker. As to the former, a noted dentist, a cipher message to Jordan, Beauregard's adjutant-general, had been found too among Mrs. Greenhow's papers. This read in part: "Your three last dispatches I never got. Those by Applegate were betrayed by him to the War Department; also the one sent by our other channel was destroyed by Van Camp."³²

Meanwhile on August 23rd the Federal agents also took into custody Mrs. Philip Phillips, her two daughters, her sister Miss Levy, and Mrs. Bettie H. Hassler. Mrs. Hassler was charged, according to the State Department, with contraband correspondence with insurrectionary States. In her book Mrs. Greenhow admits Mrs. Hassler was accredited to her by Colonel Jordan as a messenger and had transmitted several dispatches for her, some of which, through no fault of Mrs. Hassler, fell into the hands of the Federals. Mrs. Phillips, wife of ex-Congressman Phillips of Alabama, and the members of her family were charged, says Pryce Lewis, with being spies. All these ladies, and Miss Mackall, an intimate friend of Mrs. Greenhow, were soon confined in the Greenhow house which Washington promptly began to call "the Greenhow Prison."³³

Strong influence was quickly at work on behalf of some of the ladies. About September 8th, relates Mrs. Greenhow, two gentlemen called to see Mrs. Phillips. One was Edwin M. Stanton, former Attorney General in the Buchanan cabinet, who was soon to become Lincoln's Secretary of War. His errand was to make arrangements to send the Phillips family south and his companion was Colonel Thomas Marshall Key, an aide-de-camp of General McCellan. Mrs. Greenhow records that Mr. Stanton asked her whether he could serve her but that when she tried to employ him

³¹ Pinkerton to Porter, Jan. 9, 1862. *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 1308-09.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 572-74.

³³ Arrests recorded, *O. R.*, p. 237; charge against Mrs. Hassler, p. 295. Mrs. Hassler's service, Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 88-89. Charges against Mrs. Phillips and family, Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

as counsel to obtain a writ of habeas corpus he had refused to act for her.³⁴

Pryce Lewis states that after the arrest of Mrs. Phillips and "Mrs." Levy, he was one of the agents "placed in charge of the house." One day two gentlemen, one a doctor, presented a pass signed by Secretary of War Cameron and called on Mrs. Phillips' husband who "was a physician and was at the time ill in his room." Later the man who was not a doctor came downstairs and pompously reproached Lewis for some alleged discourtesy to the ladies. Lewis thereupon had him surrender his pass, which gave permission to "Dr. ——— and Edwin M. Stanton" to see Mrs. Phillips' husband. The Federal agent then made Mr. Stanton admit he had seen the ladies although the pass entitled him to see Mrs. Phillips' husband only, and, when the future Secretary of War tried to be overbearing, cut him short with the peremptory order: "Now, sir, you march right out of this house!"³⁵

It is not clear whether Mrs. Greenhow and Pryce Lewis are referring to the same visit by Mr. Stanton. Lewis seems to be speaking of the Phillips house. Mr. Phillips was not imprisoned in the Greenhow home, and in one version the second man is Colonel Key while in the second he is an unnamed doctor. However, according to Mrs. Greenhow, Lewis was one of the guards at her home from the time of her arrest on August 23rd for she identifies as two of the most insolent of her guards "an Englishman named Lewis and an Irishman named Scully," and refers to their subsequent capture in Richmond.³⁶ Mrs. Phillips and her companions were taken to the "Greenhow Prison" on August 30th, seven days after their arrest.³⁷ It is unlikely that Lewis was on guard duty at both places simultaneously and therefore possible that Stanton made only one visit, and that to the "Greenhow Prison." Whether his companion was Colonel Key or a doctor remains uncertain.

There is no definite indication that Mrs. Phillips and Mrs. Greenhow had been working together as Southern agents. But the latter relates that after the Battle of Manassas she visited the Old Capitol Prison to minister to the Confederate wounded there. Accompanied by Miss Mackall, and in conjunction with high

³⁴ Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 100-01.

³⁵ Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 106-08.

³⁶ Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 66 (footnote).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

parties "whom it would be imprudent to name," she supplied the prisoners with needful things, and "Mrs. Phillips and family also exerted themselves in this holy work." As Mrs. Phillips remained a prisoner until at least February 20th, she was not released until Stanton had become Secretary of War. Then in June, 1862, in New Orleans General B. F. Butler found her guilty of disrespectful conduct when a Yankee officer's funeral passed her house and branded her as an uncommon, bad, and dangerous woman stirring up strife and inciting to riot. He had her confined on Ship Island, allowed her only a soldier's ration daily, together with the means of cooking same, and permitted her to communicate with no one except through his office.³⁸

Although Mrs. Greenhow was now in custody and closely watched, Pinkerton soon realized she was continuing to send cipher messages South. Some of these, entrusted to an officer she thought she had bribed successfully, were confiscated, and it appears her cipher was broken by the Federals.³⁹ On October 27th Acting Secretary of War Benjamin transmitted to General Joseph E. Johnston by special messenger a private note for Colonel Jordan containing a cipher message President Davis had received addressed to Thomas John Rayford, and for which the President believed Jordan had the key.⁴⁰ Jordan forwarded a translation to Mr. Benjamin, said it seemed to have been sent by Mrs. Greenhow and explained that Rayford was a name he had selected before leaving Washington for cipher correspondence with her. He was not certain she had written the note and thought it might be a shallow device of the enemy to draw an informative reply which would be intercepted.⁴¹

Jordan added that the cipher, hastily devised in April, had been found easily decipherable. It would have been discarded long ago had Mrs. Greenhow escaped detection, and just as she was arrested he had been about to send her a new one. He knew the War Department in Washington had one of her cipher letters and felt they must have worked out the key. "I used it with but the lady, and with her it has served our purpose, including the one great

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26-27. Also see prison list. *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 236-37 and Special Orders, No. 150, Department of the Gulf, *ibid.*, Ser. I, XV, p. 510-11.

³⁹ Pinkerton to Porter, Nov. —, 1861. *Ibid.*, Ser. II, II, 568-69.

⁴⁰ Acting Secretary of War Benjamin to General Joseph E. Johnston, Oct. 27, 1861. *Ibid.*, Ser. I, V, 923.

⁴¹ Jordan to Benjamin, Oct. 29, 1861. *Ibid.*, p. 928.

service of saving General Bonham from disastrous surprise on the 17th of July." ⁴²

Jordan also informed Benjamin that from another source he learned a reward was offered for the cipher key. As the cipher was now useless, he was inclined to furnish the key through a person in Washington and let his friend get the reward. Jordan stated further that Dr. Van Camp had just arrived at Centerville to inform them of the place to be attacked by the Annapolis armada and that Van Camp's informant was John F. Callan, Clerk of the U. S. Senate Military Committee. Jordan had received information, too, on the 24th from Washington from a lady of capacity and wit from whom he expected much timely and acute observation of a useful nature. ⁴³

The type of information Jordan hoped to get from the lady is best illustrated by the news Van Camp had just procured about the Annapolis armada. "Dr. Van Camp," General Holmes reported on the 28th, "is just from Washington, says the enemy, 65,000 strong, will land below Mathias Point tonight, and that sixteen regiments are opposite Evensport with sixty guns, light artillery." ⁴⁴

Meanwhile, as Allan Pinkerton indicates, the Federal Government was trying to treat Mrs. Greenhow as considerately as possible, although it realized she had caused the Union great harm. She herself wrote: "My social position was such that they did not dare follow out the suggestions of their first excited consultations in disposing of me." ⁴⁵ Her connections were indeed such as to embarrass greatly the highest authority.

As young girls, Rose O'Neale and her sister Ellen Elizabeth had left Montgomery County, Maryland, and gone to Washington. Both are believed to have been brought up there under the guidance of an aunt, Mrs. Hill, who conducted the city's most fashionable boarding house in the Old Capitol building. At some social function young Rose met and conquered Cave Johnson, later Postmaster General in President Polk's cabinet, and the fascinated Tennessean beamed her devotedly about the capital. ⁴⁶ She then

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ General T. H. Holmes to General Cooper, Oct. 28, 1861. *Ibid.*, Ser. I, LI, Part II, 360.

⁴⁵ Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁴⁶ Doster, *op. cit.*, p. 80. General Doster, writing more than fifty years after

met, charmed, and, in 1835, married Robert Greenhow of the noted Richmond family, a fastidious scholar, doctor, linguist and author who was a friend of Lord Byron. Robert Greenhow, whose greatest work was his history of Oregon and California, was for twenty-two years librarian and translator of the State Department, and died in San Francisco in 1854.⁴⁷

Early in 1835 Rose's sister Ellen married James Madison Cutts, a nephew of Dolly Madison. Dolly Payne had married James Madison, Lucy Payne had married Colonel George Washington Steptoe, a nephew of George Washington, and Anna Payne had married Richard Cutts, a Congressman who had previously been a judge in Massachusetts. President Madison and Richard Cutts were intimate friends, and in 1812 Dolly, writing Anna that a room and sisterly affection awaited Richard at the White House, added: "He will be here, I hope, in time to give his vote for war."⁴⁸

Richard Cutts, father of Ellen O'Neale's husband, after twelve years in Congress became Superintendent of Military Stores in Madison's second term. When this high office was abolished in 1817, the position of Second Comptroller of the Treasury was created and President Monroe promptly appointed Richard Cutts who held it for twelve years under Presidents Monroe and John Quincy Adams. On the death of Richard Cutts, he was eloquently eulogized by ex-President John Q. Adams.⁴⁹

At the time of Mrs. Greenhow's arrest as a spy, her brother-in-law, James Madison Cutts, held his father's former position of Second Comptroller of the Treasury, having been appointed by President Buchanan and retained by President Lincoln. He and his

1861, gives Mrs. Greenhow's maiden name incorrectly as "McNeill" instead of "O'Neale."

⁴⁷ *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-37), VII, 580.

⁴⁸ For Ellen O'Neale's marriage, see Cecil H. C. Howard, *Genealogy of the Cutts Family in America* (Albany, 1892), p. 167. For marriages of Dolly, Lucy, and Anna Payne, see (1), *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 181-82; (2), *Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison* (Boston, 1886), edited by her grand-niece, pp. 11 and 36; and (3), Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 86. For intimacy of Madison and Cutts families, see *Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison*, pp. 75, 79, 117, and 201. Houghton, Mifflin Company, publishers, state that Lucia B. Cutts signed their publication contract for the *Memoirs* but cannot tell whether she edited the book. Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 168, states Lucia Beverly Cutts was a daughter of Richard Dominicus Cutts, who was a nephew of Dolly Madison, and that she edited *Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison*.

⁴⁹ *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (Washington, 1928), p. 874. Also see obituary notice written by John Quincy Adams in Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 544-46, and Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 349.

wife Ellen (O'Neale) Cutts were the parents of Rose Adele Cutts and James Madison Cutts, Jr.⁵⁰ Rose, presumably named for her aunt Mrs. Greenhow, was indisputably the belle of Washington just prior to the Civil War. Beautiful, universally loved and admired, and possessing much of the charm of manner of her great-aunt, Dolly Madison, she had married late in 1856 Senator Stephen A. Douglas who in 1860 was defeated by Lincoln for the Presidency. After the inauguration, Senator and Mrs. Douglas were among the first to call upon the President. And some time after her husband's death in June, 1861, Mrs. Douglas is understood to have called on President Lincoln for friendly counsel regarding her private affairs.⁵¹ At the time of this call her aunt was evidently sending messages to Jordan and may have already been taken into custody.

James Madison Cutts, Jr., brother of Mrs. Douglas and nephew of Mrs. Greenhow, was a lawyer. He enlisted in the First Rhode Island Volunteers as a private on May 2, 1861, and on May 14, at the request of his brother-in-law, Senator Douglas, President Lincoln commissioned him as a captain in the 11th U. S. Infantry. He was soon placed on the staff of General Burnside as aide and judge-advocate, later served in the field and was wounded, and won promotion and high awards for most gallant and distinguished service.⁵²

Another member of the powerful Cutts family devoted to the Northern cause but nevertheless close to Mrs. Greenhow was her sister Ellen's brother-in-law, Richard Dominicus Cutts. Also a nephew of Dolly Madison, he held in 1860 a responsible position in the United States Coast Survey. In 1861 he became a colonel in the U. S. Army and by November, when Mrs. Greenhow was in custody and still communicating with the Union forces, he was an aide of General H. W. Halleck. Later he was made a brevet brigadier general and remained on Halleck's staff.⁵³

⁵⁰ Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 167, and 293.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 167 and 293. Also sketch of Stephen A. Douglas in *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 401. Also Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln—The War Years* (New York, 1939), I, 269.

⁵² Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 167 and 571-74. Also Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 349. In a letter to the author, dated Nov. 14, 1945, the Adjutant General, War Department, states Captain Cutts became aide de camp to General Burnside Apr. 22, 1862.

⁵³ Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 and 560. Also Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 349. In a letter to the author, dated Nov. 14, 1945, the Adjutant General, War Department, states Colonel Cutts was appointed aide de camp to General Halleck, Nov. 16, 1861 and relieved from that duty May 27, 1865.

Such connections were indeed sufficient to require that Mrs. Greenhow be treated with the utmost consideration. And adding undoubtedly to official perplexity was her close and well-known friendship with ex-president Buchanan.⁵⁴ Drastic measures against her might have embarrassed her relations and connections greatly. It was probably for this reason that she was at first restrained genteelly by being confined in her own home. This mild action might cut off her communications with the rebels and make it difficult for her to try to secure access to the important military and political information held by members of the Cutts family.

But contrary, perhaps, to official expectations, all of Mrs. Greenhow's relatives did not lose touch with her. Under date of November 16, 1861, she recorded as callers, "my sister, Mrs. James Madison Cutts, and my niece, the Honourable Mrs. Stephen A. Douglass."⁵⁵ There is no official confirmation of this particular visit, but two months later Assistant Secretary of State Seward wrote Provost Marshal General Porter that Mrs. Stephen A. Douglas should be permitted to make a single visit to Mrs. Greenhow in the presence "of a proper officer."⁵⁶

After finding in a message to Jordan Mrs. Greenhow's statement that Van Camp had destroyed a Confederate dispatch to her, Pinkerton sought further information about the dentist. On November 26th two Federal agents found a U. S. Army doctor deserting to the South who had used a conveyance provided for that purpose by Van Camp. Much evidence against the latter developed, and one witness related that the spying dentist had stated that at Manassas he had had his wounded son appointed orderly to Beauregard. Charged with "communicating with the rebels," he was placed in the Old Capitol Prison and Pinkerton recommended that he be kept in close confinement to the end of the war. In due time two highly solicitous members of Congress asked the Secretary of State to permit the prisoner to take the oath of allegiance, file a bond to keep the peace, and move to the North or Northwest. Assistant Secretary Seward replied with suave regret that the military authorities when consulted had expressed a very decided opinion adverse to release.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Doster, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁵⁵ Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁵⁶ Seward to Porter, Jan. 20, 1862. *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 575.

⁵⁷ Pinkerton to Porter, Jan. 9, 1862. *Ibid.*, p. 572-74. Offense charged on prison record, efforts by Congressmen, and State Department reply, *ibid.*, pp. 271 and 574.

In her book Mrs. Greenhow claims that in December, a few hours before the death of her intimate friend Miss Mackall, she wrote Secretary Seward for permission to see her friend, and that the Secretary wrote General Porter "that in consequence of her correspondence with the general commanding the armies now besieging Washington" her request to visit Miss Mackall could not be granted.⁵⁸ Incredible as the exceedingly frank wording of the quoted phrase may seem, Secretary Seward did write a note to General Porter on December 12th which, while not mentioning Miss Mackall, is practically as quoted by Mrs. Greenhow, and asks that she be informed "that her correspondence with the commanding general of the army besieging the capital" renders improper all interference in her behalf.⁵⁹

On the same day that Secretary Seward refused to interfere, Colonel Jordan sent a message to a "Colonel Empty" (Michael Thompson) saying "All that you do and that our good friend has done are understood in the right quarter and appreciated." Beau-regard's adjutant-general also enclosed a new cipher, avoiding the repetition of the same character in the same form which had constituted the chief weakness of the earlier cipher. Jordan's letter, together with one from Donellan and other incriminating papers, was found when Thompson was arrested on the 21st and his person, home, and office searched.⁶⁰ In the desk of Lewis L. McArthur, Thompson's confidential clerk, were discovered a rebel flag and a plan for a new cipher in the clerk's hand but signed with the cipher symbol for Thompson. Many symbols used in the new cipher were the same as in the one employed by Mrs. Greenhow, and there were added special conventional signs intended to confuse and mislead the enemy in case of interception.⁶¹

On December 19th the Navy Department turned over to Pinkerton letters seized aboard the captured ship *Lucretia*. Fourteen in McArthur's handwriting were from Thompson to persons in rebel States. When both men were confined in the Old Capitol, Pinkerton recommended that Thompson, who had refused to name any of his mail carriers or to take the oath of allegiance, as a military necessity be kept in close confinement until the end of the

⁵⁸ Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁵⁹ Seward to Porter, Dec. 12, 1861. *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 571-72.

⁶⁰ Pinkerton to Porter, Jan. 9, 1862. *Ibid.*, pp. 1310 and 1308.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1311-12.

war. For McArthur close confinement was recommended for a similar period, or until the Federal armies advanced so far that the prisoner could no longer harm the Government.⁶²

On the 23rd William T. Smithson, the Washington banker, using the alias of "Charles R. Cables," sent two communications to the Southern forces which General Joseph E. Johnston relayed promptly to Acting Secretary of War Benjamin. In one note Smithson stated the Army of the Potomac would advance between then and January 5th and that General Porter (the Federal Provost Marshal) had told a friend an advance was likely that week. He also reported: "Colonel Thompson has been arrested; letters found on the ducker; poor fellow."⁶³

The second communication was a note received by Smithson on December 23rd from someone he called "our friend" who was evidently a prisoner who had learned from a visitor that McClellan's forces would advance within ten days. It indicated the Federals wished to get rid of the prisoner because of the latter's daring activities. Unconditional release might be compelled but could take a long time. The mysterious prisoner was willing to remain in captivity if desirable. What course should be followed?⁶⁴

On December 26th, more than four months after her arrest, a dispatch was sent Colonel Jordan by Mrs. Greenhow and passed on to the War Department in Richmond on instructions from Beauregard.⁶⁵ It suggests strongly that she was the mysterious informant who had sent a note to Smithson which the latter had forwarded to Jordan as "from our friend."

Mrs. Greenhow stated 1200 cavalry supported by artillery would cross the river in a day or two to get behind Manassas, and a frontal attack was also to be made. As to herself, she wrote: "They find me a hard bargain, and I shall be, I think, released in a few days, without condition, but to go South. A confidential member of McClellan's staff came to see me and tell me that my case should form an exception and I only want to gain time. All my plans are nearly completed."⁶⁶

According to Mrs. Greenhow, the member of McClellan's staff who visited her was his aide, Colonel Thomas Marshall Key, and

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 1309-12.

⁶³ General J. E. Johnston to Benjamin, Dec. 25, 1861. *Ibid.*, Ser. I, V, 1006-07.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1007.

⁶⁵ Jordan to Confederate War Department, Jan. 18, 1862. *Ibid.*, p. 1038.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

the date was December 20th. The aide, she says, though her imprisonment impolitic, and his talks with some heads of Government revealed they were greatly embarrassed. As they had concluded they could not make terms with her, the only course left was banishment. When she demanded unconditional release, indemnity for her losses, and restoration of papers and effects, Key stated he might not be able to do anything about her freedom as there was a very strong influence against her. He suggested she let him make the best possible terms. She replied she would need time to think and would want him to call him again.⁶⁷

Two days after Mrs. Greenhow's note of the 26th, another message from Washington was sent to Jordan, probably by Smithson. Referring to a dispatch he had sent on the 27th, the writer stated: "I omitted to say yesterday that I enclosed a dispatch from our friend Mrs. Greenhow which I hope reached you today." This doubtless referred to Mrs. Greenhow's note of the 26th, and as on the 23rd Smithson forwarded a note also evidently from Mrs. Greenhow it seems probable that Mrs. Greenhow was getting information somehow in the Old Capitol Prison and passing it on through Smithson, and that Smithson wrote the message dated the 28th.

After referring to Mrs. Greenhow and another agent, the message related that the following week Kelley was to advance on Winchester, Stone and Banks were to cross and go to Leesburg, Burnside's fleet would engage the Potomac batteries, and McClellan would move on Centerville and Manassas. It continued: "This information comes from one of McClellan's aides and from Fox of the Navy Department."⁶⁸

The McClellan aide was probably Colonel Key, whose visits to her Mrs. Greenhow describes at length, and "Fox of the Navy Department" was surely Assistant Secretary of the Navy Gustavus V. Fox. In justice to both men, it is imperative to stress here that their loyalty has never been doubted. At its worst, their being named as the source of information must be considered solely in the light of General Beauregard's illuminating remark that in the transmission of data to the Southern forces men high in Northern council were "unconscious ducts."

"Greenhow Prison" now received another feminine prisoner.

⁶⁷ Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 164-66.

⁶⁸ O. R., Ser. I, V, 1038.

This was Mrs. C. V. Baxley, arrested in Baltimore about December 30th and charged with "carrying information to Richmond." She had taken letters there, including some to Jefferson Davis, and had brought many back, together with a commission as surgeon in the Confederate Army for a Dr. Septimus Brown who was also arrested. A full report of her activities was sent to McClellan's chief of staff by General Dix's adjutant.⁶⁹

Promptly Mrs. Baxley sought to be released. She wrote Secretary Seward that the letters she had taken South were not State papers but only private correspondence. As she put it, somehow she happened to be introduced to President Davis, had merely secured a commission for Dr. Brown, and had incidentally tried to get a cadetship for her son. Later she renewed her plea to Secretary Stanton. Two months subsequently she informed Dr. Brown: "I did write to Seward and since to Stanton, but 'tis useless; they've too much against me. The commission is not all."⁷⁰

Why she despaired even then is not clear for she had also conveyed to Dr. Brown the good news that "Colonel Thompson is out at last!" The original evidence against Thompson was ample. Further, he had refused to take the oath of allegiance and then Pinkerton, discovering more evidence against him, had renewed with greater emphasis his recommendation that "Colonel Empty" be imprisoned for the duration. Yet the prisoner had been freed.

The shadowing of Thompson prior to his arrest had shown his intimate connection with Smithson, and two of the cipher letters found on the captured *Lucretia* had for signature Smithson's alias "Charles R. Cables." Both communications contained military information. In one Smithson said: "Everything I have after paying my debts is at the command of those you represent. If you should fail to succeed, I don't wish to live any longer." In the other he reported 3000 Federal cavalry had crossed the Potomac, and commented: "I have something nice for your chief which I will send soon, and for General Beauregard." On January 8, 1862, Smithson was arrested by order of the State Department and taken to Fort Lafayette in New York. His premises were sub-

⁶⁹ O. R., Ser. II, II, 1315. Prison record, *ibid.*, p. 237; Dr. Brown's arrest, p. 1315; Major Ludlow's report to General R. B. Marcy, Chief of Staff, Dec. 30, 1861, p. 1315-16.

⁷⁰ Mrs. Baxley to Secretary of State, Jan. 3 and 5, 1862, to Secretary of War, Mar. 10, 1862, and to Dr. Brown, Mar. 14, 1862. *Ibid.*, 1316-20.

jected to thorough search and Assistant Secretary Seward cautioned General Porter that nothing was to be removed.⁷¹

Meanwhile matters were developing unfavorably for Mrs. Greenhow. She relates that on January 6th she sent for McClellan's aide, Colonel Key, who told her that several letters she had written Secretary Seward had aroused much indignation. He left her to consult persons he would not name and returned two hours later to inform her that because of the dangerous knowledge she had it was deemed inexpedient to release her. She guessed that Seward and McClellan, instigated by Pinkerton, had brought about this decision. She had heard as early as December 27th that, fearing her escape, the Government had decided to remove her to a prison. On January 18th she was transferred to the Old Capitol.⁷²

Three weeks later a prisoner said by Pinkerton to be "a second Mrs. Greenhow" was also placed in the Old Capitol. She was Mrs. Augusta Morris, arrested by order of General McClellan. Her prison record reads: "Spy; actively connected with Walworth, Smithson, and others. Sent to Washington by General Johnston." Pinkerton reported she had been transmitting information to the enemy, that Colonel Jordan had called on her at Brown's Hotel, and that in a letter to her Jordan, expressing the hope that "Jane Elmford" had not been involved through Smithson's arrest, spoke of Mrs. Greenhow as a persecuted individual.⁷³

Mrs. Morris, also known as "Miss Ada M. Hewitt" and "Mrs. Mason," was very likely the "lady of capacity and wit" from whom, as he had informed Acting Secretary of War Benjamin four months earlier, Beauregard's adjutant-general expected much timely and acute observation. That he actually obtained such information from her appears in a letter written by Mrs. Morris to her husband on February 19th addressed in care of Jordan's assistant, Major T. G. Rhett, and intercepted by Federal agents. She told her husband she had been sent to Washington by Generals Beauregard and Johnston with the consent of President Davis, and that McClellan had arrested her too late for "I already had gotten his plans, as laid before the military committee, from one of the members."⁷⁴

⁷¹ Smithson's connection with Thompson; Pinkerton to Porter, Jan. 9, 1862. *Ibid.*, p. 1310. Smithson's arrest, *ibid.*, p. 1354-56.

⁷² Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-78 and 202-05.

⁷³ *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 1346. Prison record, *ibid.*, p. 272; Pinkerton report, p. 1346-47.

⁷⁴ Mrs. Morris to Dr. Mason, Feb. 19, 1862. *Ibid.*, p. 1348.

On February 7th, the same day Mrs. Morris was arrested, M. T. Walworth was taken into custody by order of General McClellan, charged with being a spy and connected with her and William T. Smithson.⁷⁵ Commenting on their arrests, the *New York Herald* stated that the lady, who was charged with informing the enemy as to the position of Washington fortifications and the strength of Federal troops, was the gay, dashing and sprightly "widow" who had offered for \$100,000 to explain Confederate Army signals. As to Walworth, charged with complicity, the paper reported that he was a clerk in the Adjutant General's office and a son of Chancellor Walworth of New York.⁷⁶

In a second intercepted letter to a Colonel B. T. Johnson on February 19th, Mrs. Morris informed him of her arrest on McClellan's orders, that she was in solitary confinement, and that "Greenhow enjoys herself immensely." She also conveyed a cryptic message she was sure he would understand. Another letter dated the 24th fell into Federal hands. This warned Jordan her letters to him since her arrest were being opened, resealed, and forwarded. She asked: "Did the ones with [McClellan's] plans as given to the military committee reach you?" and added: "I have great hopes of you if McClellan will give you fight." Mentioning a cabal against her formed by Mrs. Greenhow, she wrote of the latter: "She is drowned by mean ambition of being known as the only one in the good work, and jealous of everything that surpasses her in loyalty and courage."⁷⁷

That spirited rivalry existed making it impossible for Mrs. Greenhow, Mrs. Morris, and Mrs. Baxley to collaborate closely is quite likely, and Colonel Jordan probably found it desirable to give them assignments providing as little contact as possible. Respecting Mrs. Morris, Mrs. Greenhow professed to believe she had been arrested on grounds related more to scandal than to espionage. And understanding Mrs. Baxley claimed to have a letter for her and instructions to communicate with her, she dismissed all this as "the result of a disordered imagination."⁷⁸ But what Mrs. Morris thought of Mrs. Baxley was that she was probably also acting for the Federals. According to Pinkerton, she wrote Colonel Jordan that some Maryland friends told her

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1351-52. Prison record, *ibid.*, p. 272.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1349.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 1350 and 1349.

⁷⁸ Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, pp. 254 and 169.

Mrs. Baxley had been put in prison with Mrs. Greenhow to get as much information as possible out of her. Who, Mrs. Morris wanted to know, was Mrs. Baxley?⁷⁹

Using evidence developed in part through the arrest of Mrs. Greenhow, Pinkerton had done remarkably well in breaking up the Confederate spy ring. In all his reports, except in the case of Walworth, his recommendation, which undoubtedly reflected the will of McClellan, was that the prisoners be kept under lock and key for the duration. Knowing the tendency of high authority to release them on parole or upon taking the oath of allegiance, or to casually send them South, he stressed with eloquent logic that those arrested had greatly endangered the Northern cause. Loyalty to those fighting for it demanded that those arrested should not be freed to resume their activities.⁸⁰

Yet for all but Dr. Van Camp, whose fate is not revealed, there is a record of early release with the severest condition imposed being the oath of allegiance or a parole of honor. Almost as though the power to free were being exercised from Richmond, Mrs. Hassler, Walker, Colonel Thompson, Mrs. Phillips, Dr. Brown, McArthur, Smithson, and Walworth were soon at liberty. In Smithson's case, the Dix-Pierrepont Commission report favoring release was approved by order of the Secretary of War, who later had reason to regret it, and Assistant Secretary Watson authorized his release on taking the oath of allegiance.⁸¹

As to Walworth, an oddly subdued Pinkerton, seemingly forgetting that Southern feminine agents worked very effectively upon Federal employees they met socially and that Walworth had also been connected with Smithson, recorded: "There is nothing in the papers of Mrs. Morris or of himself to show any treasonable practices on the part of M. T. Walworth. He appeared to be mixed up with Mrs. Morris socially to some extent like several other parties." With understandable courtesy, the Commission's secretary, who was also secretary to the Secretary of State, for-

⁷⁹ *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 1347.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 569.

⁸¹ Mrs. Hassler released Oct. 30, 1861. *Ibid.*, p. 295. Walker released Nov. 26, 1861, p. 571; Dr. Brown ordered released Apr. 8, 1862, p. 1321; McArthur released Feb. 22, 1862, pp. 238 and 245; Walworth ordered released Apr. 1, 1862, p. 1352; Thompson reported "out at last!" by Mrs. Baxley, p. 1320; Mrs. Phillips reported by General B. F. Butler as "released by clemency of Government," *ibid.*, Ser. I, XV, 510. Smithson release approved by Secretary of War, *ibid.*, Ser. II, II, 1356; released May 10, 1862, p. 1357.

warded to Chancellor R. H. Walworth of New York a copy of the Commission's order for his son's discharge from the Old Capitol Prison. From it he learned that his son, said to have met the gay Mrs. Morris only socially, must nevertheless take a special oath of allegiance requiring him to leave Washington, repair to the paternal home in Saratoga, New York, report daily to his father, remain within his home county, and refrain from holding correspondence with any person in the States in armed insurrection.⁸²

As to Mrs. Greenhow, Mrs. Baxley, and Mrs. Morris, the Dix-Pierrepont Commission relating to State Prisoners ordered on April 1st that, if these ladies consented, they were to be conveyed beyond the United States lines into the State of Virginia and released upon giving a written parole of honor not to return north of the Potomac during hostilities without permission of the Secretary of War.⁸³ The ladies undoubtedly did not object seriously, although Mrs. Greenhow indicates she at first said she would not obligate herself not to return. However, by April 14th she was insisting that there be no more delay.⁸⁴ But by then someone important must have protested vigorously for it was not until June 2nd that the three prisoners went South via Fortress Monroe.

Undoubtedly neither McClellan nor his intelligence chief, Pinkerton, was eager to release the ladies. Mrs. Morris had been arrested by McClellan's order, a report on the arrest of Mrs. Baxley had been made to his chief of staff, and Pinkerton had arrested Mrs. Greenhow. As to the latter, McClellan knew she had sent important information to Beauregard, and her own comment that the Prince de Joinville, attached to McClellan's staff, lamented that a female spy sent information of the general's plans to Beauregard, is confirmed by the Prince. Writing of McClellan's plans for the Army of the Potomac de Joinville states the general had to reveal them at a council, that the next day they were known to the Confederate enemy, conveyed, no doubt, "by one of those thousand female spies who keep up his connections into the domestic circles of the federal enemy . . ." and that thereupon Johnston evacuated Manassas.⁸⁵

⁸² Pinkerton report on Mrs. Morris. *Ibid.*, p. 1347.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 577.

⁸⁴ Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, pp. 282 and 284.

⁸⁵ Prince de Joinville, *The Army of the Potomac* (New York, 1862), p. 27.

Mrs. Greenhow relates that Congressman Ely of New York told her on April 26th that McClellan had ordered her held, and that Senator Bayard of Delaware informed her later that he had learned from General Wadsworth that McClellan had countermanded the order to send her South and had demanded that she be kept in custody to the war's end.⁸⁶ On April 1st, when the three women were ordered released, it is possible McClellan had consented, thinking such leniency politic as three of his own agents were then in grave danger in Richmond. However, when Pryce Lewis and John Scully, were sentenced to hang on April 6th and Timothy Webster, Pinkerton's best agent, was hanged on April 29th,⁸⁷ McClellan had ample reason to insist that the release of Mrs. Greenhow, Mrs. Morris, and Mrs. Baxley be revoked or postponed to permit bargaining or retaliation.

As soon as the Federal Government learned of the death sentences, strenuous efforts were made to save the three men, Lewis relates that Pinkerton and McClellan's aide, Colonel Key, saw President Lincoln and that the rebel authorities were notified that it would be unwise to hang the Federal agents. Pinkerton adds that after he and Key saw the President a cabinet meeting was held and a message sent to Richmond. It stated the North had treated Southern agents most leniently and that hanging of Northern agents would inevitably mean retaliation.⁸⁸

Webster died on the scaffold, but something certainly happened to save Lewis and Scully. It may be that their lives were spared in exchange for the freeing of Mrs. Greenhow, Mrs. Morris, and Mrs. Baxley, and that this arrangement caused McClellan to withdraw the objection attributed to him that presumably held up release of Mrs. Greenhow for two months. In fact, Lewis states that in September, 1863, in Richmond three citizens of Fairfax County released from the Old Capitol Prison on condition that they do their best for his release and that of Scully informed him that the release of the two Federal agents had been ordered earlier and that Mrs. Greenhow had been sent to Richmond to procure it.

⁸⁶ Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, pp. 289 and 299.

⁸⁷ Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, pp. 523-24, 544, 558 and 586. As early as Apr. 6, 1862, C. C. Fulton at Fort Monroe informed Assistant Secretary of the Navy G. V. Fox that "Richmond papers mention that 2 men Price Lewis and John Sully have been convicted as spies and were to have been hung yesterday but that a short respite has been granted." *O. R.*, Ser. II, III, 429.

⁸⁸ Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 293; Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, p. 544-48.

Mrs. Greenhow admits only that when she arrived in Richmond, Lewis and Scully wrote her and asked her intervention on their behalf.⁸⁹

Though Lewis and Scully were not executed, they were not returned North until late in 1863 after prolonged negotiations for exchange. The Federals were very anxious to get them back and the Confederates equally reluctant to let them go. On May 25, 1863, Colonel Ludlow, the exasperated Federal exchange agent, wrote sharply to Robert Ould, the Confederate exchange agent:

I bring to your mind the cases of Lewis and Scully. You distinctly and without reservation told me that these men should be delivered on the day following the delivery to you of a large number of citizen prisoners, their names were especially mentioned and I have not received them.⁹⁰

Nevertheless, Lewis and Scully were not pried loose until months later when former General Humphrey Marshall, an influential lawyer in Richmond, acted for them. Pinkerton, duly appreciative, saw to it that the War Department sent Marshall his fee. When one messenger failed to get the funds through, they were delivered by the Confederate spy Belle Boyd on her release from the Old Capitol in December, 1863.⁹¹

But Mrs. Greenhow's departure South in June, 1862, did not end the activities of her associate Smithson in Washington nor her interest in them. Evidence of this materialized when the banker was again arrested in May, 1863, on what Secretary Stanton termed "charges of grave magnitude."⁹² On May 25th Judge Advocate General Holt reported to Stanton that Smithson, who had taken the oath of allegiance a year earlier, had nevertheless been engaged for a long time in buying and selling Southern securities and bank currency. He had also corresponded with rebels about running the blockade, and had been acting as agent for Mrs. Greenhow who authorized him to handle her securities and funds. In his bank were found a stock certificate in her name and a letter urging him to sell the stock for her and to remit the proceeds through a person she named. She asked him, too, to join her in cotton and tobacco speculations in Richmond which she represented as promising large profits.⁹³

⁸⁹ Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 293; Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 66 (footnote).

⁹⁰ O. R., Ser. II, V, 703.

⁹¹ Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 309-10.

⁹² Stanton to Park Bank, May 20, 1863. O. R., Ser. I, V, 664.

⁹³ Judge Advocate General Holt to Stanton. *Ibid.*, p. 699-701.

General Holt recommended that all property of Mrs. Greenhow be seized and applied to the support of the United States Army. Similar action was suggested as to Smithson's assets.⁹⁴

In August, 1863, Mrs. Greenhow proceeded to Wilmington, N. C. to sail for Europe aboard the *Phantom*. On August 4th she wrote President Davis that she expected to leave in a few hours and hoped to get away safely. With other items of information she reported that she had received a letter from a Colonel Jones stating that Louisiana and Mississippi were wholly in the possession of the Yankees. In conclusion she wrote: "And now, my dear sir, I must say goodbye. I can never sufficiently thank you for your goodness to me. May Heaven guard you, sir, and keep you in health, is my most fervent prayer."⁹⁵

After a year abroad, during which she published in England the story of her imprisonment, Mrs. Greenhow sailed for home aboard the *Condor*. When the ship ran aground near Wilmington, she attempted to get ashore in a small boat. The boat turned over in the heavy surf, and, weighed down by a bag of gold sovereigns about her waist, she was drowned.⁹⁶ It was generally believed that the gold represented proceeds of the sale of her book in England, and Provost Marshal Doster, commenting on this belief, admitted he had paid \$16.00 in gold for a copy.⁹⁷

At about the time of Mrs. Greenhow's death in September, 1864, Confederate Exchange Commissioner Ould was trying hard to get Smithson released. On September 2nd James Hamilton, a Union man who had been held in the South as a hostage, wrote Secretary Stanton that he and a man named Culbertson had been liberated on promising Ould that they would try to get Smithson and a Reverend Dr. Handy freed. Hamilton added: "We were told that you consent to the release of Handy."⁹⁸

Handy may have been released, but Smithson apparently was not and became quite indignant. In 1866, after the war, and despite the conclusive evidence against him, he audaciously brought suit against the Secretary of War. On September 12th

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Letter, Mrs. Greenhow to Jefferson Davis, Aug. 4, 1863. *Confederate Veteran* XL (Nashville, 1932), 187. "Carroll Dulaney" of the *Baltimore News-Post* and *American* states this had recently come into the possession of a Baltimore collector.

⁹⁶ Margaret Leech, *Reveille in Washington* (New York, 1941), p. 441.

⁹⁷ Doster, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁹⁸ James Hamilton to Stanton, Sept. 2, 1864. *O. R.*, Ser. II, VII, 849.

Major General Philip H. Sheridan came to the support of his assailed superior. He reported from New Orleans that a sister of charity had just called upon him and related that Smithson in the fall of 1861 had tried to send through the lines a plan of the Washington fortifications and other information. The papers had been enclosed in a small plug of tobacco, the center of which had been scooped out for a hiding place, and the end of the plug had been cut off as though used. Smithson's plan had failed when the sister of charity had returned the papers to him because a paroled rebel prisoner declined to take them through on the ground that it would constitute a violation of his parole. If the Secretary wished, the lady was willing to go to Washington to testify.⁹⁹

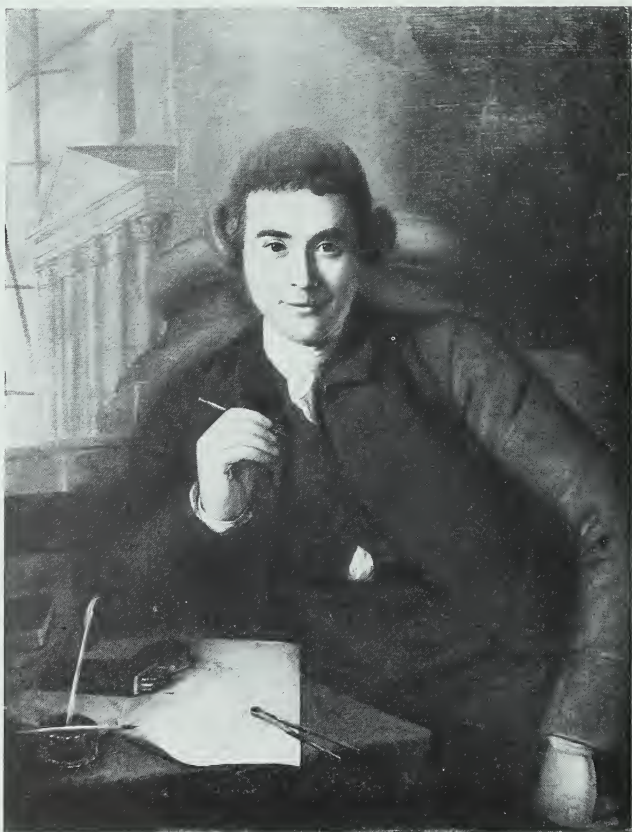
Despite Smithson's bold suit against Stanton, there is no doubt that he was an important Confederate agent. Regarding Mrs. Greenhow, the evidence outlined in this article makes it apparent that she was an equally if not more important one, and that her arrest led to the apprehension of several others. Yet, unaccountably, the reality of her activities is doubted and challenged.

In its sketch of Robert Greenhow, the *Dictionary of American Biography*¹⁰⁰ refers cautiously to his wife as "an alleged Confederate spy." Even less impressed, and not troubling to prove their charge, the authors of *The Women of the Confederacy*¹⁰¹ brand Mrs. Greenhow's own recital as a work of adventure "of slight value and of doubtful authenticity." But, upon the available evidence, to doubt or to challenge Mrs. Greenhow's service as a Southern agent is futile unless it is first charged and then proved that such distinguished Southern leaders as General Beauregard, Colonel (later Brigadier General) Jordan, and Burton Harrison are not competent, reliable, and effective witnesses on her behalf.

⁹⁹ General P. H. Sheridan to Stanton, Sept. 12, 1866. *Ibid.*, Ser. II, II, 1357.

¹⁰⁰ *Op. cit.*, VII, 580.

¹⁰¹ F. B. Simkins and J. W. Patton (Richmond, 1936), p. 295.



WILLIAM BUCKLAND

1734-1774

By Charles Willson Peale

Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery

WILLIAM BUCKLAND, ARCHITECT OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

By ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE ¹

The name of William Buckland has been bandied about among the experts ever since one of the great authorities on Americana brought him out of obscurity in 1933 and introduced him to a somewhat select audience. In his preface to *Great Georgian Houses of America* the late R. T. H. Halsey gave Buckland his rightful place as designer and builder of "Gunston Hall" in Virginia and of the six or eight more important houses of Annapolis, but for nearly a century and a half before this Buckland was known to many of the more erudite inhabitants of Maryland's capital city.

Few have been the buildings in the colonies that could claim even traditionally a named designer or builder. However, research is gradually uncovering a talented man here and a date there and fitting them together. Where architectural knowledge and historical accuracy go hand in hand the results are most gratifying. Unfortunately there is a tendency on the part of some writers to attribute houses to a single author because of similar detail, when facts and figures can produce no verification. The historical record of William Buckland was never completed but because of a revival of interest in the subject the earlier findings, corrected where necessary, are here combined with the results of recent research.

William Buckland appeared in print for many years as Matthew Buckland for no apparent reason and it was not until his indentures were discovered among the papers of his business partner that some of the facts of his brief life became known.² These indentures disclose that William Buckland was born in the Parish of St. Peters-in-the-East, Oxford, England, on August 14, 1734.

¹ For invaluable aid in research the author is indebted to Edith Rossiter Bevan. This article is based on a paper of the late Daniel R. Randall, 1930.

² Originals in possession of Richard H. Randall, Towson, Md.

He was the oldest of eight children baptised there, born of Francis Buckland, yeoman, and Mary Dunadone of Burford, a quaint village in the County of Oxford.³ The church of St. Peter's is one of those sturdy Norman structures begun in 1120, added to throughout the next three centuries and, though the oldest in Oxford, is still serving the town's worshippers. Mr. Halsey felt sure that young William was influenced by a certain house in Warwickshire, Honington Hall, 22 miles from Oxford, that was being constructed while he was learning his trade. It seems pertinent to remark that he must have been influenced all through his early years by the beauty of the early churches and colleges of Oxford. An education in design and proportion was there for the taking.

In April of 1748 when not quite fourteen years old, William said goodbye to his father and mother and apprenticed himself to his uncle James Buckland, then a "citizen and joiner of London to learn his Art—and to serve unto the full end and term of Seven years, his Secrets keep, his lawful commandments everywhere gladly do." The usual contract of the time went on to state what the apprentice was to do and what considerations his Master must give in return; a contract of give and take unknown to modern trades and labor.

Of his seven apprentice years we know nothing definite. There was in London at the time one James Buckland, a bookseller with a shop at the Sign of the Buck in Pater Noster Row and the owner of a publishing house with a branch at Chelmsford in Essex. James' dates are given as 1711-1790 and he was a man of some eminence and one of the authorized sellers of Abraham Swan's architectural works.⁴ While it is difficult to understand how a bookish man who advertised as such as early as 1735 could be the same joiner with whom William went to live, it is conceivable that there could have been some relationship and that the budding builder could have received further education through access to a library and stimulation to provide himself eventually with most of the great volumes of designs appearing from time to time during this revival of interest in building.

As William Buckland's seven years in London drew to a close, across the Atlantic in the colony of Virginia George Mason was

³ From parish records supplied by the Rev. J. H. Wooster, Vicar, in June, 1946.

⁴ Charles Henry Timperley, *Encyclopaedia of Literary & Typographical Anecdotes*. (London 1839), p. 765.

making plans to build himself a house. He has selected a site on the Potomac river on one of his many plantations, between the ports of Dumfries and Alexandria, of which latter embryo city he was a founding father. At this time Mason was active in the Virginia Assembly and in the militia; a hardworking, rheumatic little man, versed in law and with a killing sense of civic duty.⁵ Many writers have commented on the simple exterior and the elaborate interior of "Gunston Hall." In all likelihood the floor plans of the new house were drawn and the brickwork perhaps already under way when George Mason wrote to his brother, Thomson, then finishing his course in law at the Inner Temple, to procure for him a skilled workman to finish the job.

From this point the second document discovered in the Randall family papers records in some detail the history of our builder. Dated August, 1755, William Buckland makes a contract "to serve Thomson Mason, Esq., in the Plantation of Virginia, Beyond the Seas, for the space of Four Years—and as all Covenant Servants shall be provided with food, drink, washing, lodging and a Salary of £20 Sterling per annum." He joined the large army of proficient workmen, political exiles, younger sons of the poorer gentry and the less wicked criminals, pouring into the colonies by every ship that left a British port. It was certainly no handicap to an ambitious young craftsman to begin his career with all expenses paid to the new world and under the favorable circumstance of being employed by the Masons of Virginia.

There are various notations on the back of this second indenture. The very day he signed it Buckland borrowed from Thomson Mason against his future pay and followed it the next day with a larger loan of £3 13 s. One wonders whether he was buying himself clothes, which do not seem to be allowed for in his contract, or having a final farewell party. Certainly he was in no position at this time to purchase, or even to need, the expensive volumes we find later in his library.

A more important addition on the back of the indenture is an endorsement of his builder in George Mason's handwriting. He states that Buckland had come to Virginia with his brother Thomson Mason and "had the entire Direction of the Carpenters and Joiners work of a large House." Thus, by November 8, 1759, Buckland must have completed "Gunston Hall" in the allotted

⁵ Kate Mason Rowland, *Life of George Mason* (New York, 1892).

four years and earned his freedom. His employer, feeling kindly disposed towards him for the imagination and skill he had shown in producing interior trim and decoration that is still a wonder to all who see it, was recommending him "to any gentleman that may have occasion to employ him, as an honest, sober diligent man and I think a complete Master of the Carpenter's and Joiner's Business both in theory and practice." So, at twenty-five Buckland was, with a pat on the back from Col. G. Mason, out to seek his fortune.

During his four years at "Gunston" he must have come in contact with a near neighbor at "Mt. Vernon," that silent country gentleman whose military duties were forever taking him away from his hearth and harvests. Together Mason and Washington worked for their colony, together they discussed crops and together they prayed in the Parish of Truro. These distinguished vestrymen selected rectors, sites for new churches, sites for glebes. From the Vestry Book of Truro Parish we find that in 1759 the committee for building a new glebe house for the Upper Parish was so dissatisfied with the contractor's delay in completing his contract that they annulled it. Thomas Waite was to have been paid £425 for building a one-story brick house with cellar for the Reverend Charles Green but when he proved so procrastinating who better to step into his place than Col. Mason's protégé? William Buckland was given the work, paid the balance due Waite and completed the house; "It to have convenient rooms and closets . . ." ⁶ This glebe house stood on the stage road from Alexandria to the now vanished town of Colchester, at a place now called Newington and is described in detail in a later advertisement. ⁷

Fairfax County. To be sold to Highest Bidder,—on Friday, 22 May. The late Glebe lands of Truro Parish in Fairfax Co. Va.; containing by estimation 400 acres. Thereon is a Brick dwelling House with 4 rooms upon a Floor, Passages above and below and Cellars; also a Kitchen, Meat House, Corn House, Coach House and Barn; together with sundry other Houses and; Yard and Garden paled in. The Situation is high, dry and healthy, having the great Post Road from Alexandria to Williamsburg passing through it between the former and town of Colchester on Occoquan, is rendered convenient for a Publican, Merchant, or Doctor.

G. WASHINGTON }
WM. GARDNER } Church Wardens

⁶ Philip Slaughter, *History of Truro Parish* (Philadelphia, 1908), pp. 29, 34.

⁷ *Virginia Gazette*, March 5, 1767.

Another friend and neighbor of the Masons was John Ballendine, a pioneer industrialist, who built flour and saw mills as well as iron furnaces at the Falls of the Occoquan, a tributary of the Potomac. His partners in the flour business were Quakers, the Janney brothers and Nathaniel Ellicott, brothers of men who came into Maryland in the same pursuit. Better to supervise his flourishing enterprises, Ballendine determined to move his residence up-county to his mills. About 1759 it is said that he engaged Buckland to build his home on a terrace cut from the steep rocky ledges bordering the Falls.⁸ This sturdy structure is two-stories with attic and dormers, of native stone, six bays long and with a depth of but one room. The brick kitchen wing was added at a later period though the great fireplace and kitchen crane give evidence of the eighteenth century. Crude as to design, with certain solid qualities befitting the house of a business man in a business town, as is this residence, yet the block and bracket modillions of the cornice are as handsome as those of any Virginia dwelling. A well turned chair and stair rail and simple reeded mantels complete the woodwork. Its lofty position overlooking the mills and the creek is one of dignity and time has not spoiled the view up the lovely wooded vale. Ever seeking larger fields of endeavor, Ballendine lost most of his fortune in his efforts to build a canal and establish mills at the Falls of the Potomac. The little town of Occoquan has been by-passed by highways and what remains of it is still dominated by this great stone residence now called "Rockledge."

A later project of Colonels Mason and Washington for the betterment of Truro Parish was the building of a new church on the main highway, to be known as Pohick or the Lower Church. This was to take the place of an earlier structure fallen into disrepair and not so conveniently situated for the growing population of Fairfax County. Washington is supposed to have drawn the simple design with his own hands and the two prominent vestrymen gave the building of it to a friend and neighbor, Daniel French, as "undertaker." It took five years to complete, in which time French died and George Mason took over the supervision. It seems almost certain that William Buckland had the subcontract for the woodwork and carving though Bernard Sears was paid for carving the chancel.⁹ As will be shown later, Sears and Buckland

⁸ Notes of the late owner, F. A. Barnes.

⁹ *Handbook of Pohick Church* (no publisher, no date). p. 10.

had business dealings at other times. The work is familiar to Buckland followers and there is the added record of Bishop Meade who notes that a friend told him that the date and the carver's initials, "W. B." were inscribed at the top of one of the original Ionic pilasters.¹⁰

All Buckland's patrons up to this date had business interests in the little town of Dumfries. Founded largely by a group of Scottish merchants for good wharfage and river shipments, it faded away as a center when the better port of Alexandria was developed. The Tebbs house built in 1762 and only recently destroyed had bricks laid in all-header bond which is very unusual in Virginia but common in the Annapolis houses.¹¹ It was here that Major Samuel Seldon, of "Salvington" a brother-in-law of the Masons, exported tobacco grown on his Prince William County fields and put up on his business trips at the old Stage Coach Inn which is now the only remaining colonial structure in the town. Major Seldon appears on an account list of Buckland's for £10, his price for drawing plans or for carving several mantels. These are but passing clues to what might have been a lucrative field for the "Joiner."

Research has failed to produce evidence that Buckland was employed by his friend and contemporary Thomson Mason though this would seem most likely. Mason practiced law at Dumfries and lived at the home place in Stafford County. Shortly after his marriage in 1760 he bought land in Cameron Parish, Loudoun County, which had just been cut off the old Truro Parish and established himself at his new place, "Raspberry Plains." There is a photograph of this house, now destroyed, in R. A. Lancaster's *Historic Virginia Houses and Churches*, and the large brick house with one attached wing and the familiar bullseye window is noticeably like Buckland's Annapolis houses. Lancaster says the house was built about 1771 on the site of the present one near Leesburg. Thomson Mason, called "the first lawyer at the bar," was taxed as early as 1767 on 329 acres of "Raspberry Plains" ¹² but unfortunately the many missing court record books in these adjoining counties make the tracing of "improvements" practically impossible.

¹⁰ Bishop William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1857), II, 226.

¹¹ Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia 1706-1776* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1945).

¹² Fairfax County records, Liber C 1.

Buckland's work in Truro Parish brought him in contact with William Moore, one of the lesser planters of Fairfax County. Moore was a near neighbor of George Mason as well as tenant of a Mason plantaion. He owned 500 acres on Accotink Creek taken by him by patent from the Proprietors in 1727 for his dwelling plantation, and accounted in his will for two other large estates.¹³ In 1763 he was selected to "beat the bounds of Truro Parish" an ancient custom for verifying the boundaries, derived from the old country.¹⁴ William Moore and his wife Mary had two sons and three daughters and into this family circle entered William Buckland, then over 30 years of age, to claim the second daughter as his bride. Moore's will probated Oct. 16, 1769, lists among his children Mary Bucklin (*sic*) and this daughter is again mentioned in the mother's will.¹⁵ Further proof that Mary Moore became Mary Buckland is found in a family record written in a Book of Common Prayer (Dublin, 1772), which has come down in the Mann family, descendants of her second marriage.¹⁶

It appears that Buckland did not establish himself permanently until after his marriage and that he elected to leave the circle of friends and in-laws in the upper counties to live farther down the Northern Neck on the highroad to Williamsburg. He bought property near the town of Warsaw, then called Richmond Court House.¹⁷ There is a tract of land now called "Buckland," north of Warsaw, though the fact that the County Court appointed Buckland one of two men to supervise the ferry and landing at Totusky Creek, an estuary of the Rappahannock river, makes one sure that he had property below Warsaw also.¹⁸ There are over fifty entries in the Richmond County records of William Buckland, the first of which is in June, 1762, and others continuing until September 1772. Sometimes he is defendant, sometimes plaintiff, and sometimes jurymen. There are suits against him by Tappahannock merchants for unpaid bills; once he is presented "for being a common profane swearer" and once for assault and battery. But against these are suits which prove his financial progress, mortgages he held, suits he won, accounts he ran up for materials with the neighboring merchants.

¹³ Fairfax Co. records, Liber C 1, p. 248.

¹⁴ Slaughter, *History of Truro Parish*.

¹⁵ Fairfax Co. records, Liber C, pp. 66, 92, 93.

¹⁶ Owned by Charles Harrison Mann of Jacksonville, Florida.

¹⁷ Richmond Co. records, Order Books 14 and 16.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Order Book 16, p. 190.

By far the most interesting document is that of the case of one of Buckland's workmen, James Brent, brought against him for payment of back wages. Here are the detailed accounts of both master and laborer to be settled by the court. The names appearing on it from the year 1759 through 1763 are those of the merchants of Dumfries; Bernard Sears who worked on Pohick Church; Thomson Mason's brother-in-law, Major Seldon; Dr. Nesbitt and Hector Ross, both witnesses of William Moore's will and the item "To 37½ days work at Colo Masons." The two accounts do not differ greatly but James Brent was awarded £15:17:5 after the case had dragged on for a year, for the work he had done, over and above his debt to his employer.¹⁹

Living near here at the time was John Ariss, known as architect and builder of several of the local manor houses.²⁰ It is quite possible that the opportunity to work with a man whose reputation was already established was what drew the younger man to the neighborhood. Ariss vanished from the scene about this time to reappear in 1770 in Berkeley County, far to the west. There was work enough to keep two men busy with the domiciles of the various Carters, Lees and Tayloes as they married and set up home plantations of their own. The wealth of the planters had not yet diminished and there was constant improvement to the earlier houses which were having wings added and interiors newly decorated to keep up with the times. "Mt. Airy," on the outskirts of Warsaw, has been attributed to Ariss in 1758 but the sample of woodwork that survived the fire of 1844 has the stamp of Buckland. The design is similar to that at "Gunston Hall." John Tayloe, Esq., must have known the new resident well, possibly at Dumfries where he had business but certainly in Richmond County where he went security for Buckland in a case against John Tarpley, Gent. Two local mansions that have all the ear-marks of his work and were built about this time are "Blandfield," home of William Beverley in Essex County, and "Menokin" in Richmond County, built by John Tayloe in 1769 for his daughter at her marriage to Francis Lightfoot Lee. Buckland was on the spot, he had the training and the skill and he possessed by then a large library of architectural designs.

His first known building in Richmond County was the county

¹⁹ Richmond Co. records.

²⁰ Waterman, *Mansions of Virginia*.

prison and two payments to him for this work were recorded by the Court in 1763 and 1764. In July, 1767, Rind's *Virginia Gazette* carried the following advertisement;—

Lunenburg Parish, Richmond Co., July 14, 1767.

The new Glebe House of this Parish with all the offices in neat repair. There is a good orchard and a garden new pailed. The whole will be rented with 100 acres of land more or less, by applying to the Rev. Mr. Giberne or Mr. Buckland who will show the premisses.

The Rev. Isaac William Giberne was a typical example of the sporting Church of England parson who led the church into such disrepute that it took 50 years to recover. He had been Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Argyle, nephew of another Duke, author of several books, before he sought a living in the colonies. Col. Landon Carter, one of his vestrymen, extols his sermons while bemoaning the viciousness of his gambling. Robert Wormeley Carter, the Colonel's son, was often lured to the home of the rector by his good company and the long evenings at cards.²¹ Further worldliness is exhibited when young Carter and the Rev. Mr. Giberne were presented at the 1764 Court for evading taxes on their "riding chairs."

During these years Buckland was riding up and down the muddy roads of the Northern Neck on his roan horse or crossing the placid Rappahannock by ferry to the mercantile town of Tappahannock or journeying beyond it to the center of all Virginia life, Williamsburg. He was making friends, soliciting business and increasing his own wealth and position. He must have experienced workmen to please the sophisticated tastes of the plantation gentry and so he hires London carvers, takes his pick of a boatload of convict laborers who purport to be joiners and accepts as apprentices the young sons of two Richmond County friends.²² But his convict labor in particular gave him endless trouble by running away. John Ewen was advertised for several times in the *Virginia Gazette* and after one escape turned up in the jail of Charles County, Maryland.²³ Samuel Bailey, a convict servant man, by trade a house joiner, ran away twice but was still in Buckland's employ at the time of his death.

²¹ "Diary of Col. Landon Carter," *William & Mary Quarterly*, XIV (1906), 250.

²² John Randall and John Callis. Richmond Co. Order Book 16.

²³ *Maryland Gazette*, July 13, 1769.

We have definite proof that Buckland was employed by the almost omnipotent Carter family about this time. One son and many grandsons of old "King" Carter were established on their thousands of acres in various sections of Virginia. Landon Carter, the surviving son, had built his home, "Sabine Hall," in Richmond County and had living with him a son, Robert Wormeley Carter. His nephew, Robert (Councillor) Carter, had inherited "Nomini Hall" over the line in Westmoreland County. The Carters combined business with culture in a remarkable list of enterprises. Their conscientious appearances in Williamsburg for Council and Assembly, their building of churches and their knowledge of horses were reminiscent of their English background and breeding but their mills and furnaces, their warehouses and ships were precursors of the American tycoon.

Robert Wormeley Carter kept a diary²⁴ and the following entries throw light on the activities of William Buckland.

February 6, 1766

Buckland this day brought home my Bookcases cost of 6 Lbs 0.0 also put up the Chimney piece of carved work 2. .10. .0—in all 8 Lbs. .10. .0—also a Plan of a House 1. .1. .6 in all 9 Lbs. .1. .6—this Plan he drew some time agoe.

September 4, 1766

Sold Buckland 456 lbs of Beef at 2d—3Lbs. .16. .0½—Buckland to be credited for 2/6 paid Coll. Tayloe's Smith and 5/ paid John Willis the old Butcher—

August 8, 1768

Drew off Mr. Buckland's Acct. Balla in his favr. 8Lbs. .18. .3¼

December 6, 1768

Went to Vestry, chose Churchwarden, appointed B. Branham my collector, the work house shortly to be finished; paid Buckland 10,000 lbs tobo valued to 100 lbs a very extravagant demand.

The entry referring to "a plan of a house" seems to prove beyond doubt that Buckland was architect as well as builder and carver. What this house was may some day be discovered. The work-house mentioned is the Richmond County "poor house" laid off on part of the Lunenburg Parish glebe lands, an addition purchased in 1766.²⁵

²⁴ Robert Wormeley Carter Diary, Archives of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.

²⁵ *Hening's Statutes at Large, 1754-1773*, VIII, 204.

The only letter so far found in Buckland's hand is one addressed to Councillor Carter at "Nomini Hall" as follows: ²⁶

Honerd Sr.

I have just now heard of your being in these Parts and send of[f] the Bearer with this to Request the Faviour of you to lett me know what day it will be agreable for you for me to wait on you as I Flatter myself I should be able to explain the Nature of my Intentions to the Bill of Land in dispute to yr Honrs satisfaction and I have so high an opinion of your Willingness to do justice to all mankind that after having laid my Papers before you I could with great Pleasure submit the whole to yr Determination. I am and shall continue to be uneasie while I think I Labour under your Displeasure for I have long hopd for an opertunitie of being imployed (in the way of my Profesion) in some jobb under yr Honr Should I ever be so Fortunate I think I should aim to aquitt myself to your satisfaction I mention this because I have lately heard you had some notion of making Nomony your sumers Residence I have now some of the Best Workmen in Virginia among whom is a London Carver a masterly Hand. It is Probable that you will before you leave these Parts be within sight of my shop Should yr Fondness for Work of that kind and Drawings induce you to call in I shall ever Remember the Honr done me The last time you was up I was so unfortunate as not to know it till it was to late for you was sett of[f] home the day before I gott to Nomony your consenting to my Waiting on you will confer a lasting obligation on Sr

Yr Honrs most obedit. hbl.
sert.

W. BUCKLAND

March ye 25th 1771

While eminently respectful the author stands up for himself and shows that he is a man proud and confident in his profession. He was having trouble with his property boundaries or right of way with the Councillor ²⁷ and hoped it could be settled out of court. While the letter has no address it is evident that it was written from Richmond County and endorsed two days later as received at "Nomini" in Westmoreland. When Robert Carter rode from Williamsburg to his country home the highway passed through Richmond Court House and within sight of Buckland's acres and shop to the north. It was only a few years later that the young Presbyterian tutor, Philip Fithian, spoke of plans for remodelling "Nomini":

The Col. is making preparations for a journey to Annapolis where he

²⁶ Keith-Carter collection, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

²⁷ Richmond Co. records, Order Book 16.

Designs next month. In the Evening—he and Mrs. Carter shewed me their house, the original Design and the present form and what is yet to be done.”²⁸

To whom in Annapolis would he be going for consultation but to his old acquaintance, William Buckland?

The last we hear in Virginia of the Bucklands is in the September, 1772, Court of Richmond County when William and his wife, Mary, are summoned to show cause why Elizabeth White, a servant girl, should not have her freedom. She probably got it for lack of evidence against her because the Bucklands had moved away, bag and baggage. In February William had mortgaged his place to Archibald McCall, a Tappahannock merchant, to raise the small amount of £80 cash. Buckland had gone to Annapolis to find a home for his little family who were to follow in April, if all went well. At that time, if the mortgage had not been paid, McCall was to sell everything and to forward the difference to the former owner. Evidently selecting only his finest possessions, his clothes and books to be put aboard a boat at a Rappahannock landing and shipped direct up the Chesapeake Bay to the city dock at Annapolis, he left behind a large inventory of household goods. His 3 horses, a cow, 12 head of cattle, 12 sheep, 12 hogs, 1 pair of steers, 5 feather beds, 4 dozen pewter plates, his household goods and chattels proved him a man of property.²⁹ Virginia had been good to the young indentured joiner but larger fields spread themselves before him.

Annapolis was at its peak in 1770. Eddis' familiar description³⁰ is matched by the Rev. Jonathan Boucher's "Annapolis, the genteel town in North America."³¹ There was more wealth for the size of the town, and it was not small for those days, than in the larger cities of Philadelphia, Boston or Charleston. The planters desired and built town houses that would do credit to London and besides gave ample room for their expansive hospitality and luxurious living. During the five years before the outbreak of the Revolution there was a wave of building in the old city. Public buildings had fallen into disrepair and the help of the Assembly was sought in appropriations for a new "Stadt

²⁸ Philip Vickers Fithian, *Journal and Letters, 1767-1774* (Princeton, 1900) p. 100.

²⁹ Richmond Co. records, Deeds, 14, Feb. 21, 1772.

³⁰ William Eddis, *Letters from America* (London, 1792).

³¹ *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789* (Boston, 1925).

House," a new St. Anne's Church as well as a new chapel for Severn Parish and an Assembly or Ball Room. Eddis describes the gala opening of the new theatre in November, 1771, and the additions the Governor was making to his residence.³² The carved woodwork of Governor Eden's Mansion coincides with that of the newly completed ballroom for Ex-Governor Ogle and both suggest William Buckland's handiwork. The architect's partiality for hexagonal wings is demonstrated in both these additions as well as at "Montpelier," the home of the Snowdens in Prince George's County. Thomas Snowden, the son of the builder, came into possession of his estate in 1771 and forthwith added the wings and new elaborate interior. "Tulip Hill," the Galloway place at West River below Annapolis, was redecorated about this time and here is found in the entrance hall the double arch with pendant acorn, a feature elsewhere seen only at "Gunston Hall."

It seems probable that Buckland was known in Annapolis prior to his arrival there as a permanent resident. The trip up by horseback took only two long days. He could have shipped his carved mantelpieces, cornices and modillions up by boat from his Virginia shop. Plans were easy to draw up after a night's visit to a prospective employer. The two colonies of Virginia and Maryland were closely tied by common interests and by intermarriage. The old Governor of Maryland, Col. Horatio Sharpe, and the new Governor, Robert Eden, had many personal friends across the Potomac where horses as much as politics were a common bond. Col. Mason's recommendation of his builder would carry as much weight in one colony as in the other.

The only documentary evidence of Buckland's arrival in Annapolis is an advertised letter for him remaining in the Post Office, August, 1772.³³ To tie him definitely to all the houses which have been credited to him is still a matter of conjecture based on the evidence of design and workmanship. If he had not made trips to this city prior to 1772 it seems unbelievable that he could have completed all the work attributed to him by the experts in the short time remaining to him. The earliest of these attributed houses is "Whitehall" in Anne Arundel County, built by Governor Sharpe about 1765 as his country place. The original house was undoubtedly a much simpler conception and the portico and

³² Eddis, *Letters*, pp. 17, 108.

³³ *Maryland Gazette*, August 6, 1772.

elaborately carved interior could have been added after the Governor was retired in 1769 by the Calverts so that Caroline Calvert's handsome and charming young husband, Robert Eden, might administer their rich patrimony. To date no evidence has been found to place the building of "Whitehall" in Buckland's hands and the Governor, himself, is usually considered the builder with the help of a wholly traditional consumptive indentured carver who is supposed to have died as he turned the last leaf on the elaborate drawing-room moulding. As the Governor was a bachelor and therefore did not need extensive quarters when he gave up statesmanship for farming, the raising of the hyphens to two stories and the addition of the Greek portico may have been made later by John Ridout. This secretary and close friend of Horatio Sharpe's held the place in trust to save it from confiscation after the Revolution and then inherited it.³⁴ More room would undoubtedly have been needed for his family. The consumptive carver may have been one of Buckland's workmen and certainly all signs point to the beautiful interior having been designed and executed at the time of the master's arrival in Annapolis.

The Chase house is even a harder case to prove for Buckland. Begun by Samuel Chase, bought in the midst of its building by Col. Edward Lloyd in 1771, the accounts for its construction carry no familiar names.³⁵ They do mention one Scott as supervising the work and carry the item: "To Scott for Wages Board 2 years & Passage from England 135..0..0." This would seem to indicate that Col. Lloyd had brought his own man over to complete the work. The marble mantels were of necessity importations but there is one mention of debt to the amount of £20 to an unnamed carver for "161 Modillions (to be finished by S. Chase)." This to date is the only documentary clew.

Three houses are proven Buckland creations. The most important of these, Matthias Hammond's home, was his from solid foundation to roof peak. The floor plan and elevation appear under his draughting tools in the portrait of the architect by Charles Willson Peale.³⁶ From journal entries made by young John Randall the facts are authenticated that together they worked on this house soon after their arrival from Virginia.³⁷ Because

³⁴ Will of John Ridout, Anne Arundel Co. 1797. Hall of Records, Annapolis.

³⁵ J. Donnell Tilghman, "Bill for the Construction of the Chase House," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII (1938), 23-26.

³⁶ In the Garvan Collection, owned by Yale University.

³⁷ From papers owned by the Randall family.

John Randall was Buckland's partner the Court appointed him with Denton Jacques, a merchant, to be administrators of Buckland's estate. In the final accounts brought in by them, as late as June 3, 1777,³⁸ there is the item: "By so much gained on finishing Mr. Hammond's Home, 96..17..6." Much has been written of the woodwork and symmetry of this outstanding house as well as of the nearby Brice house. Both were built by young men about to be married. Hammond died a disappointed man but James Brice lived to enjoy his partnership with Edmund Jennings' heiress and his beautiful home. By the will of his father, 1766, James Brice inherited both lot and material "already worked up or to be worked " for his dwelling house.³⁹ In the same final court accounting there is the entry that a small sum was received " from Mr. Brice for work continued by a servant." This settles the authorship of the Brice house woodwork.

The third house no longer stands on the high land above Dorsey's (now College) creek with a view over Annapolis and down to where the Bay and Severn meet. But research into this period discloses many mentions of "Strawberry Hill" and the Spriggs who lived there. The family tradition among the Sprigg descendants is that when Richard Sprigg of "Cedar Park," West River, married the attractive Margaret Caille his Quaker mother advised him to leave the dull country homestead and take his bride to the gayer surroundings of the state capital. It is maintained that five daughters were born on his new estate and that he changed its name from "Dorsey" to "Strawberry Hill," laid out gardens and orchards which made his place one to be spoken of with enthusiasm by many visitors.⁴⁰

Charles Willson Peale is our authority for attributing this house to William Buckland. Discounting his notoriously careless spelling, he mentions the place no less than six times and must have been familiar with every foot of its 200 acres and with the Spriggs as well as later owners. . At "Strawberry Hill" he "walked with his gun" and shot birds; took tea with Mr. Sprigg and later dined with the MacKubins (owners in 1824) at which time he comments: "This farm possesses some beautiful views and the build-

³⁸ Accounts, Liber 72, 1775, p. 421. Hall of Records, Annapolis.

³⁹ Arthur Trader and Henry F. Sturdy, *Seeing Annapolis and the Naval Academy* (Annapolis, 1937), p. 15.

⁴⁰ Memoirs of Richard Sprigg Steuart, 1868, owned by Miss Susan Steuart.

ings, especially the Mansion-house, is in fine taste of architecture designed by Mr. Buckley [*sic*] for Mr. Sprigg a wealthy friend." ⁴¹ A more famous diarist made the entry in 1773, Sept. 29th: "Dined at Mr. Sprigs and went to the Play in the evening." ⁴² Col. George Washington was in town for the races! Between the retirement of Richard Sprigg to the homestead at West River and the purchase of "Strawberry Hill" by the MacKubins it was rented to an interesting Belgian family, refugees from Napoleon's ambitions. Rosalie Stier, later the wife of George Calvert, writes in 1797 to her brother in Belgium a description of their new home. ⁴³

Our house is enormously big, four rooms below, three large and two small ones on second floor besides the staircases and the finest garden in Annapolis in which there is a spring, a cold bath house well fitted up and a running stream; What more could I ask for?

The only description of the outside of the house is contained in the tax records for 1799 when the Hugh Thompsons (Mrs. Thompson was Elizabeth Sprigg) of Baltimore, who inherited "Strawberry Hill," pay on "one frame dwelling 38' x 20' two stories with wings each two stories." A house with wings appears on a map of 1834 and in a watercolor painted possibly by some of the French officers who frequented the parlors of the Stiers. ⁴⁵ "Strawberry Hill" stood until a military hospital was built on the site during the Civil War and since that time the entire farm has belonged to the U. S. Naval Academy.

Both public and private building was seriously embarrassed by the approach of hostilities with the British. Plans had been drawn and in some cases money set aside by the Assembly for improvements but committees lost interest, materials and labor were non-existent and the Colony remained in doubt as to the extent and purposes of future construction. Governor Eden laid the cornerstone of the new Stadt House in April, 1772, and the building was completed except for the dome by the outbreak of the war. William Anderson was the first architect, with Charles Wallace of the appointed building committee as contractor. Committee

⁴¹ Autobiography of Charles Willson Peale, transcript at American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

⁴² *Diaries of George Washington*, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick.

⁴³ "Calvert-Stier Correspondence," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVIII (1943), 128.

⁴⁴ Owned by Mrs. W. D. Nelson Thomas (Elizabeth Steuart Calvert) of Baltimore, Md.

comments on Wallace's work in 1779 are that he "gave it more elegance than was required by the Contract."⁴⁵ From later Assembly Accounts for repairs and replacements one can see that the original carving and plaster work was most elaborate. Again the tradition from father to son in the Randall family has been that the Senate Chamber woodwork was designed by Buckland and completed after his death. Thus he was again in all probability a subcontractor working in his chosen medium under the direction of a local "undertaker" who would hardly have yielded his political plum to a recent arrival from another colony.

Among the pieces of unfinished business left by the war was the Court House for Caroline County. There appeared in three issues of the *Maryland Gazette* for November, 1774, the following:

The trustees for building a court house and prison in Caroline County do hereby give notice that they will attend Melville's Warehouse on the 16th and 17th days of the present instant, November, in order to agree with workmen to execute the same agreeable to plans and elevations that will be produced, which plans etc. may be seen at any time between this and the 16th, by applying to William Buckland in Annapolis.

The cost of these buildings was to be 70,000 lbs. tobacco, a very large sum.⁴⁶ There was much disputing over the proposed site at Hog Point and before a brick was laid the war had postponed all idea of it. When the Court House was finally built it was at Edenton (now Denton) and there are no existing records to show whether the structure was as Buckland had designed it or not.

Our knowledge of Buckland's private life centers again around the advertisements in the *Maryland Gazette*. Twice in 1773 and twice in 1774 his joiners, carvers and plasterers were taking to the highroads. Once three went off together and he offered different rewards according to their respective values.⁴⁷ Each year during the summer he had an unclaimed letter in the Annapolis Post Office. Perhaps the Bucklands were paying return visits to Virginia!

When his little family of wife and two children arrived from Virginia in 1772 Buckland bought two lots of ground in Bloomsbury Square from Charles Carroll, subject to ground rents.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Thomas W. Griffith, *Sketches of the Early History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1821), p. 62; *Proceedings of the House of Delegates* (November Session), Dec. 28, 1779, p. 78.

⁴⁶ *Laws of Maryland*, Nov. 16, 1773. Chapter XIII, Levy for building

⁴⁷ *Maryland Gazette*, April 3, 4, 21, 1774.

⁴⁸ Deeds No. 4 LB, 1773-4, pp. 529, 530. Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Whether he built a house here or whether it was already constructed there is no way of telling. It is in this deed that he is first called "Gentleman." No one studying Peale's portrait of his fine features and sensitive face could doubt the justice of this title. Mr. Buckland had come up in the world! Peale, like many other artists depicted stereotype women but found character in his male sitters. Buckland's portrait is one of his finest, and, perhaps because he was intimate with the subject, he has made him come alive. Surrounded by the tools of his profession and with an architectural background William Buckland smiles a quizzical, good-humored smile. The sittings were made in 1773-1774 but the entry in Peale's Journal is of April 7, 1879, when on a return trip from Philadelphia he notes: "Left Annapolis, having finished the pictures of Mrs. Howard and child, the picture of Mr. Buckland."⁴⁹ Poor Mr. Buckland had been in his grave many a year but his son-in-law, John Callahan, Treasurer of the Land Office, was intimate with the artist who called him cousin and visited often with him. So intimate were these two men that Peale comments at length on his reluctance to accept pay for painting the family portraits, those of Sarah Buckland Callahan, her husband and two little girls.⁵⁰

Buckland must have enjoyed the sociable life of the city after his years in country districts. Convivial clubs flourished at this time and the professional and business men had their relaxed moments no less than the grantees and colonial officials. Democracy was already evident in the marriages and merging interests of many groups. We find Buckland's name in the settlement of George Mann's estate on a list of "debts desperate."⁵¹ Mann owned the City Hotel, the finest inn the town could boast, and his debtors included the gentry of several colonies. Five years after Buckland's death he married the widow, Mary Moore Buckland.⁵² Again, Buckland appears on the Day Book of William Faris, that versatile and gossipy silversmith. On the side Faris ran a tavern and "W. Buckland" occasionally dropped in for wine, punch or a silver watch, in the years 1772 and 1773.⁵³

⁴⁹ Manuscript Diary of Charles Willson Peale. No. IX, 1788-89. Fordham University Library.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* No. X, 1789-90.

⁵¹ Inventories, Box 35, Folder 6, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁵² June 30, 1779, Index of Maryland Marriages, Hall of Records.

⁵³ Day Book of William Faris, transcript, Maryland Historical Society.

In August of 1774 Buckland mortgaged his house, lots and six slaves to James Williams, a merchant of the town.⁵⁴ He was raising funds, perhaps, for another move. By this time the citizenry was definitely divided as to its sympathies and Buckland probably realized that the building boom was over, for those who had the most to lose would wish to return to the Mother Country. If he had any thought of returning to England himself illness must have prevented. At the height of his career William Buckland died. No details are known and no burial records remain. Any notice of his death was crowded out of the Gazette by news of the burning of the *Peggy Stewart*, a momentous event in local history which occurred almost simultaneously.

The inventory of his goods and chattels was brought into court on the 19th of December, 1774,⁵⁵ and the court appointed the widow, Denton Jacques and John Randall administrators and had them bonded for the large sum of 2000 pounds sterling. Among his possessions were five white servants, five Negroes, his tools, instruments, lumber, bricks, goldleaf, mahogany and glue. But the library of architectural books is what makes his inventory unique:

BOOKS

Wares Designs (Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture*, 1756)
 Gibbs' Designs (James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture*, 1728)
 Swan's British Treasury (of Staircases, by Abraham Swan)
 Swan's Architect (Abraham Swan, *British Architect*, 1st ed. 1745)
 Langley's designs (Batty Langley, *Workman's Treasury of Designs*, 1756)
 Chippendale's Designs (*The Gentleman and Cabinet Makers Guide*, 1754)
 Kirby Prospective (J. J. Kirby, *Dr. Taylor's Method of Perspective Made Easy*, 1762, 2 vols.)
 Lightholder's Design (T. Lightoler, *The Gentleman and Farmer's Architect*, 1762)
 Langley's Gothic Architecture
 Essay on Gothic Architecture
 The London Art.
 Johnson's Carvers (Thomas Johnson, London, 1761)
 Hoppus Masswierk (Edward Hoppus, *Carving and Tracery*, 1760)
 Swanns Carpenter's Instructor (Abraham Swan, *Designs in Carpentry*, 1759)
 Butlers Annalogy
 Factors Guide

⁵⁴ Deeds No. 4 LB, 1773-4, p. 530, Hall of Records.

⁵⁵ Inventories, Liber 125, Folio 327, Hall of Records.

Reeds Reckoner (Reid)

Morris Design (Robert Morris, *Select Architecture*, 1757)

Tillotsons Sermons, 3 vols.

Several of these volumes were valued at £2 apiece and the whole estate totaled at the end £786:5:11.

The *Maryland Gazette* meanwhile carried the notice that Buckland's servants, his slaves, a parcel of household furnishings and finally his house in Bloomsbury Square would be sold at public sale.⁵⁶

William Buckland left no descendants of his name, no fortune and few followers. But at the age of 40 he had created enough beauty to leave his mark on the history of American architecture. As attics yield up their treasure it is likely that facts will be forthcoming from letter or diary to fill in more fully the details of his life. Short and simple as it is, his career antedates many an early American success-story and points to monuments in brick and wood that testify to his skill and taste.

⁵⁶ *Maryland Gazette*, Dec. 15, 1774 and May 9, 1775.

YOUNG MEN IN LOVE, 1795 AND 1823

By LUCY LEIGH BOWIE

A group of letters which throw light on love affairs of more than 100 years ago is here presented for the incidental glimpses they afford of the thought and habit of our ancestors. Bundled together, doubtless to be destroyed, they have somehow withstood the changes of generations, and the lapse of time has rendered them so impersonal that they bring only echoes of their principals. All of them relate to young men who were in love and all, with one exception, were addressed to or dated from Annapolis. The focus of the earlier group was St. John's College and that of the second the Maryland General Assembly.

From his vicarage in Surry the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, one time rector of St. Anne's, described Annapolis as the "genteel town in North America, and many of its inhabitants were highly respectable, as to station, fortune, and education. I hardly know a town in England so desirable to live in as Annapolis then was. It was the seat of Government, and the residence of the Governor, and all the great officers of state, as well as of the most eminent lawyers, physicians, and families of opulence and note."¹ There was a slump after the Revolution but the town soon recovered its tone. Society was gay and cultivated (Eddis had commented upon the elegance and accuracy of the Maryland pronunciation).² King William's School had developed into St. John's College, so in the Federal period, Annapolis was again the center of Maryland life where young men were sent to complete their education and to form their manners.

It is the common desire of parents to bestow upon their children what they regret having missed themselves. This is seldom appreciated by the younger generation. One of those who suf-

¹ Jonathan Boucher, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789*, (Boston, 1925), p. 65.

² William Eddis, *Letters from America* (London, 1792), p. 59.

fered from this disappointment was the "Father of his Country" who, though childless, ardently desired the mantle of his statesmanship and public spirit to fall upon the son of his wife and later, even more ardently, upon her grandson who was his namesake and whom he had adopted. When George Washington Parke Custis matriculated at St. John's (1798), he was escorted by his step-father, Dr. David Stuart of "Hope Park," near Fairfax Court House, Va. As a member of Washington's family he was warmly received by the Annapolitans. His first letter home indicated that he was well pleased with his situation. He wrote that he found

Annapolis a very pleasant place. I visited the principal inhabitants while the doctor was here, and found them all very kind. . . . I was so fortunate as to get in with a Mrs. Brice, a remarkably clever woman, with whom I live very well and contented. There are several clever young men boarding in this house, with whom I associate on the most friendly terms.³

Alexandria friends, visiting in Annapolis, soon carried the information to his family that Custis was "devoting much time, and paying much attention, to a certain young lady of that place . . ." Washington at once wrote and expressed a fear

that your application to books is not such as it ought to be, and that the hours that might be more profitably employed at your studies are mispent in this manner. . . . and sure I am, this is not a time for a *boy of your age* to enter into engagements which might end in sorrow and repentance.⁴

Between the receipt of this letter and the reply to it, Custis had seen his mother, who informed him that the subject of his love affair sat heavy on Washington's mind. To relieve that anxiety he wrote:

The report, as mamma tells me, of my being engaged to the young lady in question, is strictly erroneous. That I gave her reason to believe in my attachment to her, I candidly allow, but that I would *enter into engagements* inconsistent with my duty or situation, I hope your good opinion of me will make you disbelieve. That I stated to her my prospects, duty, and dependance upon the absolute will of my friends, I solemnly affirm. That I solicited her affection and hoped, with the approbation of my family, to bring about a union at some future day, I likewise allow. The conditions were not accepted, and my youth being alleged by me as an obstacle

³ George Washington Parke Custis, *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington* (Philadelphia, 1861), p. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

to the consummation of my wishes at the present time, . . . I withdrew . . . Thus the matter ended, and should never have proceeded so far had I not been betrayed by my own feelings.⁵

George Washington Parke Custis was 17 years old at this time. His father had become engaged to his mother, with the consent of both families, when 18 years of age. Custis was never interested in education, and when his romance was broken off he seems to have had no desire to remain in Annapolis. Doubtless this was a consequence of the many restrictions placed upon him. There was some talk of his being sent to William and Mary, if he could be placed in the bishop's family. The bishop, however, did not assume this responsibility. Washington then realized that nothing could be gained by force so he gave up hope and bowed to the inevitable. Thus ended the education of "the Last male survivor of Washington's Domestic Family."⁶

1795-1796

The first group of letters to claim attention are several that passed between St. John's College students in 1795 and 1796. Two were from Richard Galen Stockett and three were from Joseph Richardson. All were addressed to John Leigh, "student of law," who lived, as young Custis did two years later, at Mrs. Brice's.⁷

Richard Galen Stockett was a son of Major Thomas Noble Stockett and his wife, Mary Harwood. They had ten children, five sons and five daughters, and lived near Annapolis on land called "Obligation," acquired by the Stockett family in 1668. Their chief interest lay in developing improved fruit and in breeding fine horses. It seems probable that while attending St. John's, Stockett rode into Annapolis each day. This required early rising both winter and summer, for after the first of May, classes began at six o'clock in the morning.

At the time of the first letter Stockett was a handsome, tall sandy-haired youth of 19 years, dressed in accordance with the fashion of the time, in knee-breeches and shoe buckles; on formal

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁶ This episode, though dated 1798, has been included here to give the viewpoint of the older, as well as the younger generation; and also to afford a general view of student life in Annapolis at that period.

⁷ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXIX (Dec. 1934), p. 306.

occasions, powdered hair was worn with coats of bright blue, green and "laylock." He had at that date (December, 1795) left St. John's and gone to Philadelphia to study medicine with his father's old friend and brother-at-arms, in the War of the Revolution, Dr. Rush.⁸ When Stockett left Annapolis he was the declared lover of Miss Margaret Hall, but he does not appear to have had the consent of her father, Major Henry Hall. In those times daughters were kept under strict discipline, so any engagement and correspondence that was not sanctioned by her parents had to be *sub rosa*. His letter discloses this situation as follows:

Philadelphia december 10th 1795

D[ea]^r Leigh

I am sorry to trouble you with the care of another Letter to Miss M. but you are the only one whom I can trust, so therefore you must excuse me from my critical situation at present; when you deliver the Letter offer your service to forward any thing which she may think proper to send, as it is on you I must depend. It is now 2 o'clock in the morning so you [must] excuse my not writing more, and I have to [go] to the Post Office immediately to deliver th[ese] so remain

Your sincere Friend
R. G. Stockett

The second letter is dated seven months later. A number of love letters evidently had been delivered to the lady who seems to have replied only by verbal messages relayed to Stockett by Leigh; however, Miss Hall sent word that she would receive no more letters. Very reluctantly Leigh conveys this information and receives the following reply:

Philadelphia Jan^y 10th 1796

My worthy Friende

I am happy to inform you I have at last received your long wished for Epistle, which has relieved me from those torturing anxieties under which I have been labouring for some time past. I am sorry you did not let me know of Miss M.[']s] determinations sooner but you was considerate, and did not wish to communicate those sentiments which you thought would be disagreeable and occasion uneasiness. Had not Miss Ms conduct been such as to leave sufficient grounds for me to imagine a Letter from me would be acceptable, I should not presumed to have taken upon myself that liberty which is only incumbent on Lovers, and which I thought my duty to discharge, without which she probable might have

⁸ Frank H. Stockett, *Genealogy of The Stockett Family*, (Baltimore, n. d.), p. 16-22.

thought I had neglected her, and very justly. But I am unfortunate and in endeavouring to please I always displease. You know everything happens for the best, so make no doubt, but what this has. I am young and the world is wide, therefore shall not render myself unhappy on the present occasion. My dear fellow, give my compliments to Miss M. and tell her she is a girl after my own Heart. I like to see Ladies conduct themselves candidly and openly on matters of so great importance: Nay, further, ask her to let you peruse every letter I ever wrote her and examine them carefully whether I have made use of any improper Language or not; if I have I am sorry for it, and beg pardon; but being well convinced I have not, it would not give me one moments uneasiness if they were Published and free to be read by Women & Mankind at large. Miss Ms determinations will not lessen my good opinion of her, and shall esteem her as an acquaintance worthy of my utmost attention, and am ever willing to render her any service that lies in my power. Leigh you must be sensible that there are but few without their [illegible] and doubt not but I have mine, on the present occasion. (Her conduct I very much suspect is influenced by some particular Individuals whose names I shall not mention, sed tempus doccet) but will talk over matters more fully when we meet in the Spring—so remain

Yours Respt.

R. G. Stockett

N. B. respects to all friends.
write me soon

Thus ended what may be called the first stage of this romance. Four years later, having finished his medical education, Stockett established himself to practice his profession in Howard County. His home was located off the "new cut road" near Ellicott City and was called "Stockwood." On the 29th of March, 1799, he married his old love Margaret Hall and doubtless "they lived happy forever after."⁹ Dr. Stockett died in 1861, aged 95 years, his life span having covered the entire Federal Period.

The other letters in this group were written by Joseph Richardson. The Stocketts had Richardson relations, as had John Leeds Kerr, another friend of John Leigh's. The Stocketts' kin lived in Anne Arundel while those of Kerr's were in Talbot, Caroline and Dorchester. All were descended from the William Richardson, a friend of William Penn's, who settled in Anne Arundel County in 1666. One thing the scattered records clearly demonstrate is that they were a roving race and dearly loved a change of scene.

Joseph Richardson must have been about twenty at the time

⁹ J. D. Warfield, *The Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 95.

of this correspondence. The lady of his heart was "Sophia," presumably a daughter or granddaughter of Allen Quynn's. Quynn was a prominent merchant of Annapolis and a vestryman of St. Anne's church. He had many children and was notably strict with them even for an eighteenth century parent; however Richardson reproaches himself and not Quynn for the frustration of his love affair.

His first letter has neither place nor date indicated; it was undoubtedly written in Annapolis and delivered by a messenger, the only address being "Mr John Leigh, At Mrs Brices." The first paragraph of the letter is obscure, the best that can be made of it is that Richardson thought he had worn out Leigh's friendship by his constant confidences upon one theme, that of his "abortive hopes of future possession" of Sophia. The letter continues:

. . . I made this pause to eat my dinner and not returning to finish it till (after 8 o'clock) has given it another turn. I left Mr Q[u]ynn's in the greatest agitation (but let me before I proceed observe how transient and uncertain is every earthly pleasure) I thought myself at the summit of pleasure in the element of joy, indeed I was, but one indiscreet act has thrown me into the bottomles abys of misery. O Leigh cursed is my fate!—Each step I take is attended with fear, my words half articulated stand trembling on my tongue. Why does the earth support such a monster? Why is the Almighty so unjust as to let me live? No hopes of amendment, but clouds of dark despair attend me whereso'ere I go, in whatever place or situation I am, millions of torments surround me there. My bed is a bed of thorns, but I spread it for myself [;] hellish demons haunt my troubled rest. My pillow is as the hardest rock, that presses too strong against my head reclined upon it and gives me no ease—If I sit, unnumber'd pains oppress me and motion ads a thousand more. Thus I know no pleasure and am the cause myself—What is this life that we are so strongly attached to it? Lif[e] to me is a burden a pain ineffable & still I dare [not?] part with it, Let me speak again, I dare not [illegible] afraid; of what? not of Death, 'tis not death I dread, but the presence of Omnipotence—Oh! could I believe there was no hereafter, no more would I move the quill to tell my woes, but with this damm'd dagger before me take away my wretched existence—But may I not repent and then end my life? Or can I not repent of a sin before it is committed; but this you will say is a contradiction—I must try: this life is pain and nought but cowardice gives me an attachment to it. It is the loneliness—but I dare not speak—All hell's before my face; and death stands at my elbow—No hope of rest nor here nor hereafter—What wretchedness—all despondency—But all too good for accursed me—Enough! I've said enough, and still I want to say more. But [a]dieu. May your fate be; not as mine but ever blessed, not as I am hated but ever loved may you

forever be. May every good attend these lovely two. May all the world be happy, but myself as now, miserable—Must I go further. No, well then once more adieu. Believe me to be unfeignedly yours

forever

J. Ri-----son

Sunday night 1/2 past 8

Youth is the season of despair. Since the thought of self destruction is rejected he turned to a change of scene and the next letter is dated from Charleston, South Carolina.

Charleston S. Carolina June 27th [17]95

Dr Leigh

Here I am in a large Town unhappy in the extreme and without any consolation but what I hope to receive from the Epistolary intercourse of my friends. You then my Dear fellow who have ever professed the warmest friendship for me will not after the reception of this let me linger long in tedious expectations of a letter. Any thing from you will be a subject for my amusement . . . It is unmanly to complain at the awards of providence, and a detail of my wretchedness to one who has felt the severity of disappointed love, is deemd unnecessary. And yet I can think of nothing but Sophia [;] she engrosses all my thoughts [;] her image hovers o'er my slumbers and inspires all my dreams. How often in my disturb'd repose—but it is a folly [to] tell—let me think of something else.

Charleston is the place of my abode at present but it is not probable I shall be here long nevertheless write to me in Charleston directing your Letters to the Care of M^{rs} Coates Globe Tavern & She will always know where to send them to me.

Had I a glass of water from the forgetful current of Lethe to wash away the memory of my misfortunes perhaps I might recover my wonted cheerfulness, but memory most faithful in recording evil delights to torture me by keeping the cause of my wretchedness forever before. How delightful to muse on the perfections of my fair. How severe the thought that tares her from me forever. I will not think it, yet 'tis impossible to forget it. Excuse me I am not well—when I have it in my power you shall again hear from

Your unhappy

Friend

J. Richardson

The third letter from the unhappy youth to the same confidant bears a form of address which suggests that Richardson had become a recruit on one of Citizen Genêt's privateers. The French

law commanded that no other form of address should be used by any one at that time in the French service.¹⁰

Citizen John Leigh
Annapolis, Maryland
Hon^d [?] by Mr. W^m. Wyley
Via New York

Leigh

Not a sentence from any of my friends. I hope they are well—If Sophia is well—But I can't be happy 'till my return which may—never happen. I am just bound to Europe. But a week ago landed from Berbiche.¹¹ Be happy & be my friend as I am yours from my heart

J. Richardson

Charleston June 19th [17]96

It is not within the scope of this article to establish this Joseph Richardson's line of descent, but evidence at hand indicates beyond a reasonable doubt that the writer of these letters was the son of Col. William Richardson of Gilpin's Point on the Chop-tank River, Caroline County, across from the mouth of the Tuckahoe.¹² Col. Richardson had commanded the Eastern Shore Battalion of the Flying Camp in the American Revolution and later the Fifth Regiment of the Maryland Line. Before the Revolution he had at various times been a delegate to the General Assembly and had held other public positions. He was also at this time part owner of the sloop *The Omega* that traded with

¹⁰ Charles Edmund Genêt was the minister accredited to the United States by the revolutionary government of France. He landed at Charleston, S. C., and immediately began enlisting troops for the French service, using the French consul as his agent. He fitted out privateers to prey upon British shipping in the West Indies and, using American ports as bases for these activities, brought in captured British ships to be refitted. This was before he presented his credentials to the United States government, and was in total disregard of the American Act of Neutrality, that had been passed by the American Congress in 1793. Later, in response to strong protests by the United States, Frenchmen were forbidden by France to violate American neutrality. French commissions were revoked and ordered to be returned. The French consul at Charleston, Michael Angelo Mangourit, refused to credit this order and believed it to be a British hoax, so it was decided in 1796 to send Citizen Fulton to France to investigate and settle these questions.

¹¹ A port of Dutch Guiana.

¹² The Richardson Family History had been nearly completed by Mrs. Hester Dorsey Richardson at the time of her death. It is hoped that it will be finished and made available to the public. Also Edward M. Noble, *History of Caroline County* (Federalsburg, Md., 1920), p. 120.

the West Indies.¹³ His son Capt. Joseph Richardson, presumably the writer of the foregoing letters, is reported to have followed an adventurous seafaring life until the ship he commanded was captured by the British in the War of 1812. He was imprisoned in England but made his escape and returned to Maryland. In 1817 he became clerk of the court at Denton which office he held for 27 years. He married, built a handsome house, finished in mahogany and containing a fine library. He died in 1848 and, having become a Roman Catholic, is buried with his wife, Elizabeth W. in St. Elizabeth's Churchyard, Denton. After his death his family, three sons and a daughter, settled in Cecil County.

1823

Although there are no letters from John Leeds Kerr, he is the next on the eighteenth century list of St. John's students to be considered. It is probable that he also lived at Mrs. Brice's and thus was thrown into close association with John Leigh, who accompanied him to Talbot for a vacation visit. This visit resulted in the marriage of Leigh to Kerr's cousin, Ann, daughter of William Thomas, Jr. of "Anderton" and his wife Rachel Leeds. Ann Thomas and John Leigh were married January 24th, 1798, and their son, George Singleton Leigh, was born April 11th, 1799.¹⁴ John Leeds Kerr remained single until April 8th, 1801, when he married Sarah Hollyday Chamberlaine, daughter of Samuel Chamberlaine of "Bonfield," and his wife Henrietta Maria Hollyday. Their daughter, Sophia Leeds Kerr, was born January 29, 1802. It is the intended marriage between John Leigh's eldest son and John Leeds Kerr's eldest daughter that is the theme of the letters dated 1823.¹⁵

Another generation had come of age, the nineteenth century was well on its way. Fashions had changed, pantaloons strapped under the instep were in every-day use, although knee breeches were still worn on formal occasions, powdered hair had entirely gone out of fashion, colored coats were still in fashion. The depression that followed the Revolution had passed, as had the

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 76-79.

¹⁴ Richard H. Spencer, *The Thomas Family of Talbot County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1914), p. 12.

¹⁵ John B. Kerr, *Genealogical Notes of the Chamberlaine Family of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1880), p. 70.

sectionalism that threatened to split the country at the time of the War of 1812. Settlers were pushing west, roads and canals were being built and the people were becoming interested in public education. Monroe was President of the United States and "the Era of Good Feeling" was in full swing.

Annapolis was still the social as well as the political capital of Maryland. Each county sent young men of their best families to the House of Delegates and the older men to the Senate. These often took their families with them, with the result that from the sea to the mountains all the leading people knew each other and Maryland society at that period was a web of interlocking connections and mutual friends.

In 1823 the administration of Gov. Sprigg was over and Gov. Stevens had taken his seat. George Singleton Leigh was a member of the House of Delegates. He had become engaged to Sophia Kerr and had written to his father to that effect and inquired what he should say to her father regarding his prospects. John Leigh's letter intended for John Leeds Kerr's information is as follows:

Mr George S. Leigh
House of Delegates
Annapolis

[Leonardtown, Md.]
Jan.^y the 25th 1823

Dear George

I was quite disappointed in not hearing from you by the two last mails; particularly as you had just before stated that you were labouring under a bad cold.

You say, in your last letter, that you wish to get married in April, and that you would like to inform Mr Kerr of such prospects as you might have in view.—If you should be married in April, I hope it will be towards the last of it—I would prefer the first of May;—Of course you must live with me the present year.—In the Spring I mean to sell Anderton for what I have been offered for it, if I can get no more, and surely sometime during the year, I can purchase a farm for you.—Having the money to pay down will no doubt bring many farms into market that I have not heard of.—

You never informed me whether you spoke to an Attorney to attend to my case in the Court of Appeals, so as to have the Judgment affirmed next June Term—We are all as well as usual, and wishing you much health & happiness, I am

Y^r Affectionate Father
Jno. Leigh ¹⁶

¹⁶ John Leigh was the son of George Howell Leigh and Ann Chilton. The

The date of the wedding was set for April 17th, 1823. A large party was invited to accompany the groom's family to the Eastern Shore, sailing from Leonardtown to the Miles River landing. One of those invited to join the party was Dr. Charles Llewellyn Gardiner of "Bramley," on the Wicomico River in St. Mary's County.¹⁷ The following is Dr. Gardiner's answer to the invitation, after the usual salutation and acknowledgment:

The information conveyed therein (your intended union with Miss Kerr) afforded much satisfaction . . . Nor was it less gratifying to have been one of the friends selected to accompany you on an occasion so very distinguishing . . . to partake with you of the mirth and festivities which will be I presume so very amply afforded by the hospitable inhabitants of Easton and vicinity . . . But Sir how great soever my anxiety might be to attend you upon an excursion so pleasing . . . Circumstances (at present unnecessary to detail) entirely forbid it—Think not my Friend that it proceeds from any want of inclination or that the (of late) apparent apathy of nature in any degree prompts me to retire from an invitation which will ever be considered honorable—No believe me my Dear Sir there are *Causes* which at some future period I may be willing to communicate to you—for the present then you must be content to learn that a spell of enchantment hovers about me. A mystic cloud involves me, from which I must sooner or later (but God knows how or when) evolve myself . . . Now what all this means you will be much at a loss to know—but dwell not upon it. It is not easy of solution Sir—you may

Chiltons were a Virginia family that removed to Maryland and settled at "Kingston" in St. Mary's county on the Patuxent River, some years before the Revolution. As far as known Ann Chilton had two brothers, one of whom married and lived in Loudoun County, Va., and died before 1824. He left three children or grandchildren, Charles W. who died unmarried; Sally, of whom nothing is known; and Susan, who married about 1825, Griffin Taylor of "Arcadia" near Frederick, Maryland. Charles Chilton, brother of Ann (Chilton) Leigh, never married. He lived at "Kingston" and practiced law in Leonardtown. He is said to have always worn black velvet knee breeches, and to have been so irascible that he kept his fine for contempt of court always in his pocket. Upon his death in April, 1824, George Singleton Leigh and his wife Sophia Kerr, went to live at "Kingston."

¹⁷ Dr. Charles Llewellyn Gardiner was descended from Luke Gardiner, who came to Maryland with Father Copley in 1637, and from John Lewellyn who arrived a little later. "Bramley" came into the Llewellyn family through the marriage of Jane, widow of John Gerard. Her second husband, married before 1711, was Richard Llewellyn. By 1797 "Bramley" was divided into two portions. "Bramley" the original home place, which was said to have been the manor house of St. Clements Manor, was inherited by Mary Llewellyn who married Thomas Gardiner, and had one child, Charles Llewellyn Gardiner, born 1798.

The second portion was called "Lower Bramley" and was inherited by Ann, only sister of the above Mary. She married a Mr. Jorden, of Westmoreland Co., Va., and had two children, Richard and Ann. The latter married R. H. Lee of Va. Ann (Llewellyn) Jorden married secondly a Mr. Turner of St. Mary's Co. but had no children by that marriage. "Lower Bramley" was owned for many years by the Thomas family.

call it if you like, any thing, the blue Devils—Love or some worse evil, but not Mania . . . May the balmy breezes of heaven waft you speedily to Easton, where to meet the certainly willing and caressing embraces of your lovely SOPHIA—Believe me Sir you will be conveyed with the best wishes of your sincere friend.

Adieu. C. Ll. Gardiner.”

His disturbed state of mind may be accounted for by the following story which has been handed down, and it also may explain his reluctance to have any part either in marriages or the giving in marriage. It was generally believed that Dr. Charles Llewellyn Gardiner and Miss Mary Key were to “make a match”¹⁸ but it was not definitely settled. The binding words had not been spoken but the situation was accepted by all friends and relations. At the 4th of July ball in 1822 at Leonardtown, a small group of intimate friends, including this couple, strolled during an intermission out on the Courthouse green where a cow lay asleep on the grass. All were in high spirits and someone dared Miss Key to jump over the cow. Young, built like a fairy, gay as a lark and as light as thistledown, she took the dare and over the cow she jumped. The cow was undisturbed but the same could not be said of Dr. Gardiner. He considered that she had lost her dignity—that she should not have been carried away by the fun of the occasion. Miss Key, on the contrary thought he made too much of a little fun within a small group of close friends, all more or less related, among whom the incident would go no further. There the situation hung fire, neither one advancing or receding. Now Miss Key was too high spirited to rest under even the implication of disapproval and Dr. Gardiner was startled by the announcement that her marriage to one of his friends, Dr. John Hanson Briscoe, was to take place on May 3rd, 1823. As was the fashion of the period, he became enshrouded in Byronic gloom, and in his copy of Byron “The Farewell” was heavily underscored. Three years later he married Ann, the eldest daughter of John Leigh; she died within a few months and five years after her death he married Eliza, the youngest daughter of John Leigh. His family in the male line has become extinct.

Another letter relating to the Leigh-Kerr marriage has been

¹⁸ Mary Hall Key was the daughter of Philip Key and his second wife Sophia Hall. She married Dr. John Hanson Briscoe, and had one child, Sophia, who died unmarried.

preserved. It is from Littleton James Dennis of "Beckford," near Princess Anne, Somerset County, and reads as follows:

Dear Leigh

I congratulate you most unfeignedly upon your approaching nuptials, and envy you the happiness, which you may most reasonably calculate upon, from such an Union.—"the union of desire of friendship & of tenderness, which is inflamed by a single female, which prefers her to the rest of her sex, and which seeks her possession as the supreme an[d] the sole happiness of your being."—Such I believe are your feelings towards your Sophia, from all I could collect, whenever she was the theme of our conversations, last winter in Annapolis. And from all I can learn from impartial sources (for I am unwilling, on so important an occasion, to take the wild asseverations of a *most devoted lover*, for naked facts.) she possesses a heart capable of appreciating and of reciprocating your best affections. May your happiness be perpetual! . . .

On my return from Annapolis, I found my unfortunate Uncle, Col Jackson, in a very languishing state, and soon perceived that the grim-visaged monster, had marked him as a victim; he died on the 13th ultimo. and has gone I hope to a better & a happier world.—This misfortune, together with my daily avocations will, (I fear) render it impossible to meet you in Easton on the 17th of April, although, I assure you under different circumstances it would afford me the most heart-felt satisfaction. I indulge the antiscipation however of meeting you before the lapse of a great length of time, and would be happy if Somerset could be the scene.

Present my best compliments to the Misses Harris & Lansdale when you next see them—you know I was pleased with them all, & you say particularly with Maria—be it so—she is a sweet little *innocent*.—but I am (I fear) far from the marriage goal.—indeed it would almost seem that I was a confirmed *old bachelor*.—Tell Millard I suspect that [I] am indebted to him for the reports you speak of concerning my addressing Maria—unless it be a hoax of your own invention.—How does poor Millard now? Does he still continue his deep-fetched sighs ab imo pectore, his groans, and lugubrious lamentations, & hum "Oh I shall *never, never* see her more?" Tell him I should not be surprised if they were married yet—at least such *unparalleled constancy* in him, deserves a rich reward.—If you see King tell him for God's sake to hasten home, for I am almost consumed with *ennui*. in haste

Your friend

L. I. Dennis ¹⁹

The Misses Harris referred to were the daughters of Col. Joseph Harris and his wife, Susanna Reeder, who lived on the colonial

¹⁹ Littleton James Dennis was the son of John Dennis of "Beckford" who was a member of Congress 1797-1807. He married Elinor, daughter of Henry Jackson of "Workington" in Somerset County. Littleton James Dennis died unmarried in 1829. He was a delegate to the Maryland General Assembly for some years.

family estate "Ellenborough" near Leonardtown. Their names were Maria, Ann, Eleanor and Josephine.²⁰ The Misses Lansdale mentioned were the daughters of Henry Lansdale of "Enfield Chase" in Prince George's County and his wife who was Cornelia Van Horn of Philadelphia. Their names were Cornelia and Eliza.²¹ Another sister, Violetta, had married Gov. Samuel Sprigg, and a brother, Dr. Philip Lansdale, had settled in Leonardtown and married a Miss Reeder. Maria, the "sweet little innocent" became the second wife of Henry Greenfield Sothoron Key of "Tudor Hall" at Leonardtown.²²

The "Millard" of the above letter was Enoch Ignatius Millard, later "Col. Millard." He was a scion of two of the oldest Roman Catholic families in Maryland, his father Joseph Millard of "Bellvill, near Leonardtown, having married Rebecca Fenwick. The tradition handed down in Col. Millard's family (which the above letter goes far to substantiate) is that he loved a Miss Chamberlaine of the Eastern Shore but the difference in religion kept them apart. It was a case of "strict Catholic versus staunch Episcopalian." This could well have been the case, for it is related of Samuel Chamberlaine, the grandfather of Sophia Kerr and numerous young Chamberlaine cousins, that he thought there was no salvation outside the Church of England. Because of this "great devotion" he "was supposed to be bigoted." A story recorded of him is that after General Washington's death in 1799 a memorial service for him was held in Easton and the new "Methodist Meeting House" was selected as the most conveniently situated. "A place of honor was assigned to Mr. Chamberlaine as one of the most respected members of the community" but "those who knew his character were not surprised to see him

²⁰ Col. Joseph Harris had six children who lived to maturity. Ann married Mr. Stonestreet of Charles County; Eleanor married Col. George Forbes of Prince George's County; Josephine married Dr. Franklin of Anne Arundel County, and Maria Louisa, as mentioned in the text. There were two sons, Benjamin Gwinn Harris who married his cousin Martha Harris, and Henry, who married her sister Kitty Ruth Harris. For this information appreciation is expressed to Mrs. Robert Cole, the granddaughter of the Hon. Benjamin G. Harris, who spent her young life at "Ellenborough." See also *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXI (Dec., 1936) p. 335.

²¹ See Lansdale MSS, Maryland Historical Society.

²² Col. Henry Greenfield Sothoron Key of Tudor Hall, was the son of Philip Key and his first wife, Rebecca Rowles, daughter of Zacharias and Margaret (Bond) Sothoron. Appreciation is expressed to Dr. Sothoron Key for items relating to the Key pedigree.

reach the door and decline to enter the building!"²³ This, even though the preacher on this occasion was the rector of St. Michael's Parish, the old Tory high churchman, the Rev. John Bowie, D. D. Col. Enoch I. Millard never married. He was always a "toast" with the ladies and "a great beau." He was described as an "elegant gentleman" and was highly regarded by all who knew him.²⁴

The marriage customs of this period fell into an established pattern. The ceremony took place at home; there was no wedding trip. All the near relations and intimate friends entertained the bridal party in turn. These parties started with a large dinner at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, with a rich soup served from a gallon tureen. If the company was very large, there would be a matching tureen at each end of the table, and the china was apt to be "blue india." The next course consisted chiefly of meat. The cloth was then removed and the dessert was set upon the waxed mahogany table (some of the old highly decorated dessert sets are still to be found). A three-tier pyramid was for the center filled with cups of custard in winter, with syllabub (often called whips) in summer. Between the centerpiece and the ends of the table fruit dishes would be placed, filled with the season's best showing. At the corners were placed silver trays or decorated dinner plates holding slender glasses filled with wine jelly with small spoons between the glasses. At one end of the table would be a hot dessert with sauce in a sauce boat, at the other end a cold dessert with whipped cream served on the side. The decanters would circulate from start to finish, with "port wine for the clergy" and the punch bowl in the back parlor or hall was never empty. Around eight or nine o'clock that evening supper would be served. This was handed around on large trays and consisted of oysters in winter, crabs in summer with chicken salad and ham, always with hot rolls, beaten biscuits and muffins. Then followed ice cream and at least three kinds of cake (with coffee, I hope). Those who were not house guests would reach home in the small hours of the morning. These parties would follow each other until the list of family connections was exhausted, to say nothing

²³ Kerr, *Chamberlaine Family*, p. 55.

²⁴ The sons of Joseph Millard of "Bellvill," and his wife, Rebecca Fenwick, were Enoch Ignatius Millard, and Joshua Millard who married Anne Manning and had children. Appreciation is expressed to their descendant, Miss Eliza P. Worthington of Washington, D. C., for information relating to the Millard family.

of the guests. Such entertaining, of course was reserved for great occasions, such as weddings or patriarchal birthday celebrations and election to high office.

These customs could exist only where even the men of affairs had leisure at their command and a reasonable prosperity was general. A large and well trained serving class was also necessary. Times have changed since then.

A VISITATION OF WESTERN TALBOT

By EMERSON B. ROBERTS

In the introduction to his monumental work, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*,¹ Dr. Joseph Foster says that his recompense has been the contact that the work afforded him with "many a genial Yorkshireman." "I further hope" he adds, "that those who affect to dispise Pedigrees will, for the sake of their descendants, record, if only in their Family Bibles, what they do know of their forefathers and contemporary kinfolk, and so save much trouble to future genealogists and their own posterity."

The present writing is inspired by the old doctor in a double sense—not only the practical saving of time and the serving of essential accuracy, but more by the fact that as one turns the pages of the first volume of *County Families*, the sub-title of which is "West Riding," he is struck by the many names common to western Yorkshire and to the western part of Talbot.² Indeed, the village that grew up around the first Court House, on the headwaters of the Wye, was named by Act of Assembly, 1686, Yorke, in honor of the ancient city in Yorkshire. And there are records of Court holden in the town of York.³

As one might have set out from the present location of Easton a few miles south of Talbot Court House, or indeed if he makes the trip today, with someone beside him who knows the old roads,

¹ London, 1874.

² The word *riding* perhaps needs explanation, particularly as it is not used in America at all, and but little in England. It is a distinct noun, differently derived from "riding" of "riding and walking" connotation. Derived by corruption from *trithing*, perhaps a Danish word, it means a portion of a county, generally a third. Thus Yorkshire contained three trithings or ridings—north, west, and east. Each, in old days, had its reeve or principal officer, just as the shire. There was the shire-reeve or sheriff for the shire; the trithing-reeve for the trithing or the riding. The usage of the word has largely disappeared in England just as Hundred has disappeared in America—*Author*

³ Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), II, 217; Skirvin, *First Parishes in the Province of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1923), p. 144.

the inlets and branches of the creeks, and the names on the land, and rides in a generally westerly direction toward Claiborne, and then in a generally south-westerly direction down the "Bay Hundred" until he comes to Tilghman's Island, once Great Choptank Island, and yet earlier Foster's Island, he passes near at hand the home locations here recorded. On the trip he has crossed the old Hundred of St. Michael's and covered the full mainland of the Bay Hundred. In modern days counties are divided into Districts, but by many of the older county folk the term hundred is still employed. The area described was included in St. Michael's Parish, one of three in Talbot. The road remains virtually unchanged in location, and the homes are in close proximity, though here and there obscured from the road by the pine woods that skirt the creeks and headwaters of Third Haven, or Tred-Avon, Broad Creek, and Harris Creek, on the Choptank side, and the Miles or St. Michael's, and the Wye, on the north toward Eastern Bay. Most of the homes are near navigable waters which were the first highways of the tidewater country.

Stories of some the first settlers of these points and necks have been told in recent numbers of the Magazine.⁴ Others are recorded here. Not all, but many were of Yorkshire origin.

BARTLETT OF "RATCLIFFE MANOR" AND "OLD BLOOMFIELD"

Scarcely two miles from the Court House is "Old Bloomfield," ancient home of the Bartletts. Yet standing on Third Haven, on the part called the "Great Neck," with its roof projection of four and a half feet, with its simple paneling, with its interesting odd windows, it is in good repair, though unoccupied.⁵ "Old Bloomfield" was the property of the late James Dixon of "North Bend," a descendant of the Bartletts. Never has the property been out of the possession of this family.

Thomas Bartlett, Yorkshireman, immigrant to Maryland 1691, was by trade a blacksmith and evidently he prospered at his trade.

⁴ Other families of the West Riding of Talbot have been treated in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* by the author: Dixon, Gary, Harwood, Christison, Sharp, in "Some Friends of 'Ye Friends of Ye Ministry,'" XXXVII, p. 311-326; Kemp, Webb, Stevens, Gary, Ball in "Among the Meeters at the Bayside," XXXIX, pp. 335-344; and, with Francis B. Culver, "Ball of Bayside," XXXX, pp. 154-163.

⁵ Architectural description and floor plans are to be found in Forman, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Easton, 1934), p. 184.

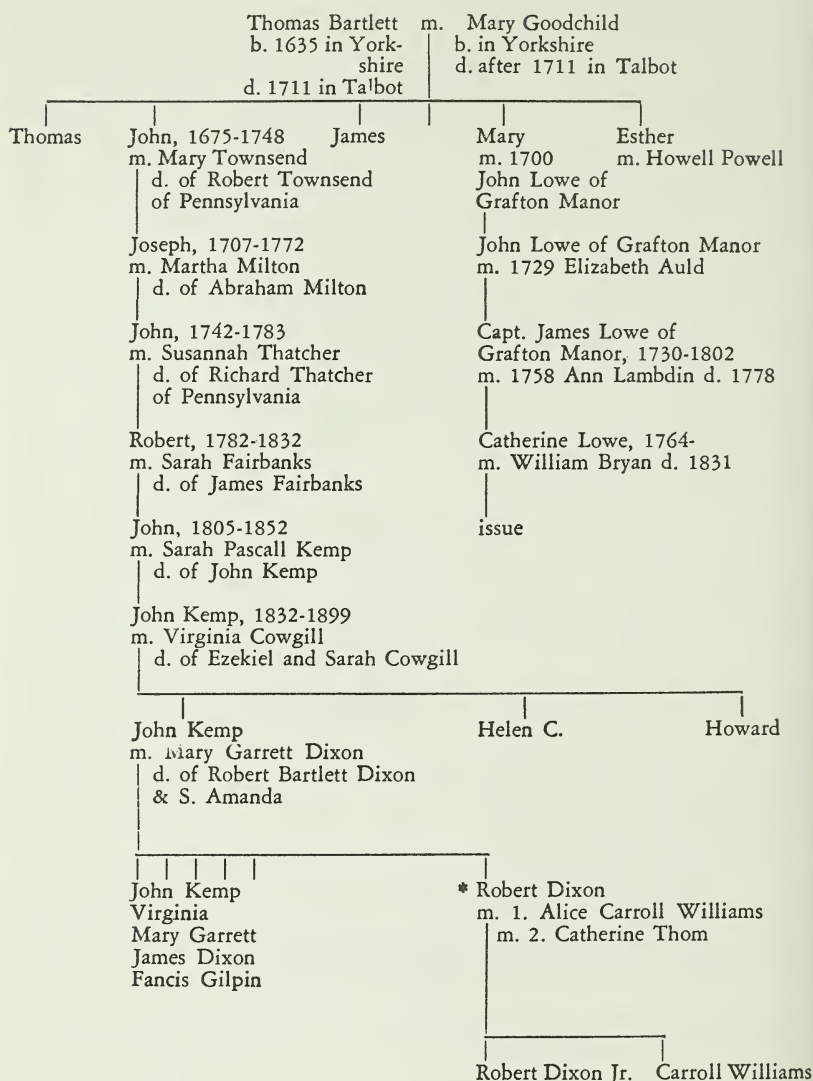
On September 21, 1698, he bought from Clement La Salle the tract of 960 acres, "Ratcliffe Manor," and it was either he or his son who built the manor house on the Great Neck. There is earlier record of "Ratcliffe Manor" in a deed, 1667, by which the property was conveyed by Robert Morris to James Wasse, but the original manor house is "Old Bloomfield." It adjoins that portion of "Ratcliffe" that was conveyed to the Hollydays, and on which they built, about 1754, the present charming "Ratcliffe Manor" house on Tred-Avon, nearly opposite Easton Point, then "Cow's Landing."

The Bartletts were Friends, and through the years their descendants have continued to be "followers of the inner light." On the first page of the records of Third Haven Meetings are Bartlett records and their steadfast influence has continued through the long history of the Meeting. Thomas Bartlett died in 1711, and his will was probated in Talbot, November 23, 1711.⁶ The original of the will is among the few such in the Court House at Easton. The eldest son, Thomas, received a 200-acre portion of "Ratcliffe Manor" in addition to his father's working tools, the iron and the iron work in the shop. The second son, John, received "The Great Neck" portion, 300 acres of the manor, as well as some other land. The youngest son, James, received a 300 acre portion of the manor. The elder daughter, Mary, who had married, "the second day of the twelfth month, 1700, John Lowe, Sr., of "Grafton Manor," received 150 acres of "Ratcliffe Manor," while Esther or Hester, the wife of Howell Powell, received money. The widow, Mary Bartlett, received personal estate and plantation in life interest.⁷

An incomplete chart reveals some of the inter-marriages with other families and provides some of the threads later to be mentioned, but by no means does it record all of the descendants of the practical old Yorkshire Quaker immigrant.

⁶ Wills, Liber 13, f. 451, Annapolis; Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, III, 231.

⁷ An account of the Bartlett origins in America is given in *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (Chicago, 1925), IV, 635-637.



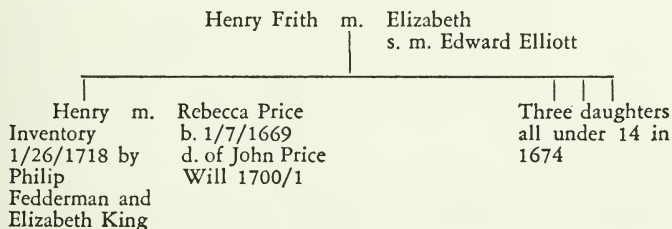
* Present owner of "Old Bloomfield"

FRITH OF "FRITHLAND"

Along the road, to the right, we come to the west branch of the Miles. Here settled Henry Frith when he came to Maryland in 1664. He had married in England, and his wife, Elizabeth, in 1666, came to join him.⁸ His age we do not know, but his wife was born in 1641.⁹ On the Talbot Rent Rolls Henry Frith is charged with two tracts: "Frithland," 200 acres, April 30, 1664, at the head of the west branch of the St. Michael's River, and "Frith's Neck," 50 acres, surveyed May 7, 1667.

On May 7, 1666, Henry and Elizabeth Frith acknowledged a covenant of sale to Robert Fuller for "Frithland," 200 acres. Later this land was possessed by James Dawson to whom it had come from his brother, John, who devised it in this phrase: "To James Dawson interest in land I ought to have on St. Michael's Creek called 'Frithland.'" ¹⁰ The land became escheat and in 1735 was resurveyed for Edward Tottrell. It appears to be the area yet known as the Dawson farm at the left of the road, just as one crosses Oak Creek. By 1716 "Frith's Neck," at the head of the northeast branch of Harris Creek, was in the possession of John Valliant "in right of his wife." The tract adjoins "Clay's Neck" and is near the old Bayside Meeting House.

Henry Frith's will was probated, July 23, 1674. The widow, Elizabeth, was the sole legatee, but in the event of her remarriage the estate was to be divided among a son, Henry, under 16 when the will was made, and three daughters, unnamed, and under 14.¹¹ As administrators on the estate, the bond of Edward Elliott and Elizabeth, relict of Henry Frith, was filed July 23, 1674.



⁸ Liber 6, f. 294 and Liber 10, f. 466, Annapolis.

⁹ Chancery Court, P. L. 35, Annapolis.

¹⁰ Talbot Rent Roll, Liber 1, f. 36.

¹¹ Wills, Liber 1, f. 638, Annapolis, and Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, I, 83.

ELLIOTT OF "DAVENPORT" AND "FRITHLAND"

On the south side of the Miles River lived Edward Elliott who had come to Maryland in 1667.¹² He was born about 1640.¹³ Elizabeth, the widow Frith, was his second wife.¹⁴ By 1698 Edward Elliott was Deputy High Sheriff of Talbot County.¹⁵ On January 16, 1724/5 he is recorded as High Sheriff. But as well as through high county office he served his community as a carpenter. Not least, he gave the land and built the parish church of St. Michael's.

The following land patents reveal the ties of family relationship among the Friths, the Elliotts and the Aulds to whom we shall presently come: On January 15, 1677, Humphrey Davenport, County of Talbot, "Dokter of Physick," sold Edward Elliott of same county, house carpenter, for 8000 lbs. of Tobacco in Casque, two parcels of land, "Beach," lying on the south side of the St. Michael's River, 50 acres, and "Davenport," 200 acres.¹⁶

"Davenport," 200 acres, resurveyed, September 16, 1675, was owned by Edward Elliott, Sr. and James Auld.¹⁷ "Davenport" extends from Deepwater Creek to Shipping Creek, now the harbor of St. Michael's.¹⁸ "The Beach," surveyed for John Hollingsworth, was bought by Edward Elliott in 1667. It skirts St. Michael's harbor.

"Elliott's Folly," 100 acres, surveyed for Edward Elliott, November 26, 1685, lying south of a west line drawn from the head of Deepwater Creek, a tributary of the St. Michael's River, beginning at a black small walnut tree, consisted of 50 acres possessed by Edward Elliott and 50 acres by James Auld.¹⁹

"Elliott's Addition," 200 acres. By a certificate of survey, dated April 18, 1687, made by virtue of a warrant granted unto Edward Elliott, October 24, 1685, Thomas Smithson, surveyor, does certify that he has resurveyed the ancient tract therein ordered and has taken up for Edward Elliott, 200 acres by the name of "Elliott's

¹² Early Settler, Liber 15, f. 396, Annapolis.

¹³ Chancery, P. L., f. 35 and P. C., f. 571 and Liber 1736-1745, f. 96.

¹⁴ Bonds, 1662-1709, Easton and Test. Proc. Liber 6, f. 270, Annapolis.

¹⁵ Liber 8, f. 516, Easton.

¹⁶ Liber 3, f. 98, Eastin.

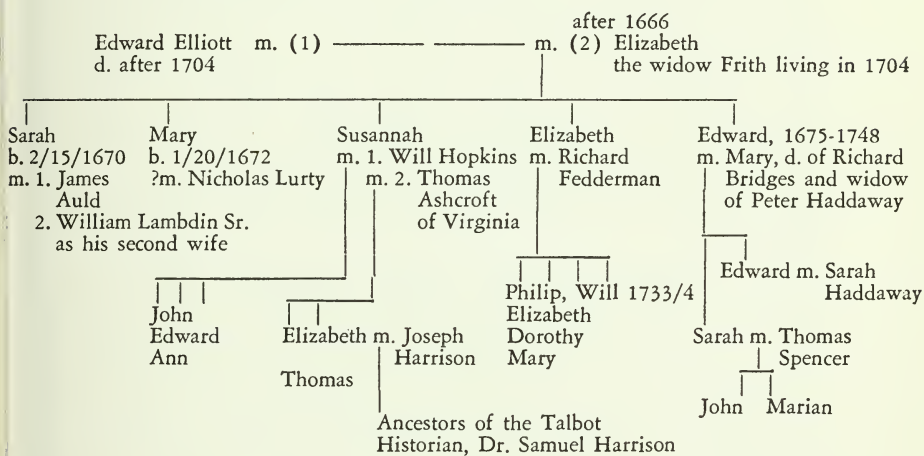
¹⁷ Talbot Rent Roll.

¹⁸ Plot in Land Office, Annapolis.

¹⁹ Talbot Rent Roll.

Addition," lying on the south side of the Miles River and adjoining unto "Williston," "Martingham" and "Davenport." Possessed by James Auld, who married Elliott's daughter.²⁰ "Elliott's Addition" is the inland part of Edward Elliott's land. It adjoins "Crooked Intention," "Rolle's Range" and "Oak Level," as well as "Martingham" and "New Port Glasgow."

"Elliott's Lott," 476 acres, surveyed for Edward Elliott, April 4, 1695, lying on the south side of St. Michael's River, near the head of Shipping Creek. Possessed by Edward Elliott.²¹ This evidently is a resurvey into which was brought most, if not all, of the land of Edward Elliott acquired by patent or purchase. It includes "Elliott's Folly," "Davenport," "Elliott's Addition," "Beach," and "Harley." "Harley" had come to Edward Elliott in 1691 by purchase from George Blades.



The birth dates of the daughters are recorded on the leaves at the back of the volume in Easton marked BBL 2. The basis of some surmise of the marriage of Mary to Nicholas Lurty, second of the name in Talbot, is the testimony of Edward Elliott, Jr., April 9, 1740, that " forty years ago he was in conversation with his brother-in-law, Nicholas Lurty . . ." ²² However, the tie may have been through the family of Bridges.

²⁰ Talbot Rent Roll.

²¹ Talbot Rent Roll.

²² Liber 1736-1745, Easton.

Edward Elliott gave his daughter, Susannah, the wife of Will Hopkins, in 1704 the 476 acres embraced in the resurvey as "Elliott's Lott." Afterwards she married Thomas Ashcroft of Virginia and the land passed to her Hopkins sons, Edward and John. A part of this land is the site of the town of St. Michael's. John Johning Hopkins, grandson or great-grandson of Susannah Elliott, sold it to James Braddock, Liverpool merchant in 1777/8, and it was he who laid out the village.

In his will 1733/4, Philip Fedderman, the son of Richard Fedderman (Wedeman) and Elizabeth Elliott, Queen Anne's County, refers to 100 acres bought of Henry Frith (Jr.).

AULD OF DOVER POINT

The original home of the Aulds was "Dover Point" at the mouth of Deepwater Creek, a tributary of the St. Michael's River. On one side was William Hambleton's "Cambridge" and on the other, "Elliott's Folly." On modern maps Deepwater Creek is Long Haul Cove. On October 10, 1719, John Auld had a resurvey on a warrant of cultivation of parts of Elliott's Addition, Elliott's Folly, and Dover Point. The patent was issued to him as "New Port Glasgow." In later years, the tract came to Philemon Hambleton.

Wade's Point, over on the Bayside several miles distant from Deepwater Point, came to the Aulds probably from the Haddaways. Zachery Waid of Charles County had 300 acres due him, 1658, called Waid's Point. This he conveyed in 1663 to William Leeds, Quaker, son of Timothy Leeds, of the Isle of Kent. Sale was confirmed to John Leeds, 1712.²³ Edward Leeds, another son of Timothy, married Ruth Ball in the Bayside Meeting and their only son was John Leeds, and to him he devised Hatton and Wade's Point. John Leeds died 1789. From John "Wade's Point" passed to Lucretia, Rachel and Mary, then to John Leeds Bozman, son of Lucretia, and then was purchased in 1799 by Hugh Auld for £2,425.8.1-1/2. Hugh and Zipporah Auld sold "Wade's Point" and "Haddon" to Thomas Kemp in 1813 for \$7,000.

In the family burial ground lie members of the Auld family illustrious in the military and civil annals of the state. James

²³ Land Record, Liber 12, f. 82, Easton.

Auld, the first of the name in Maryland, was a scion of the Clan McGregor, born in Ayr in 1665.²⁴ He died in 1721 and his will, the original of which is in the vaults at Easton, was proven July 28th of that year.²⁵ On April 10, 1722, Sarah Auld, the widow, and John Auld, the son, as executrix and executor, filed their bond "in common forme," with Philip Fedderman and Francis Rolle, their sureties.²⁶ The inventory of personal property amounted to £101.1.3, and final accounting was passed August 8, 1723.²⁷ There were children as shown on the chart.

There is at Wade's Point a stone recording the military record and public service of Colonel Hugh Auld, but his remains, as well as those of his uncle, Lieutenant Hugh Auld, have been transferred to the National Cemetery at Arlington through the interest of Mrs. Laura Auld Flynn, great-great-granddaughter of Colonel Hugh Auld. The late Dr. Thomas E. Sears, was the son of John Lurty Sears and Ariana Amanda Auld, and a grandson of Colonel Auld.²⁸

Among the manuscripts in the Maryland Historical Society (Sears Papers), is a volume, *The Practical Believer—The Knowledge of God*, London, MDCCIII, the flyleaves of which contain a genealogical record which begins with Edward Auld and Sarah, his wife; then follow the names and birth records of the children. The record is signed by Deborah Dawson, September 1, 1815, with this note, "wishing to preserve the memory of her worthy ancestors has set their names to these papers—the few she has knowledge of either by information or by personal acquaintance." Then this little prayer, "Oh Lord, Thou art my choice: uphold me with Thy mighty power—Deborah Dawson, St. Michael's, June 11, 1812, a pleasant day." Further the volume holds this, interesting to all Maryland Historical Society Members, "Presented July 13, 1893, by Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Thompson Mott,

²⁴ Chancery Liber P. L. f. 34, Annapolis.

²⁵ Wills, Liber 17, f. 105, Annapolis and Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, V, 86.

²⁶ Test. Proc. Liber 25, f. 95, Annapolis.

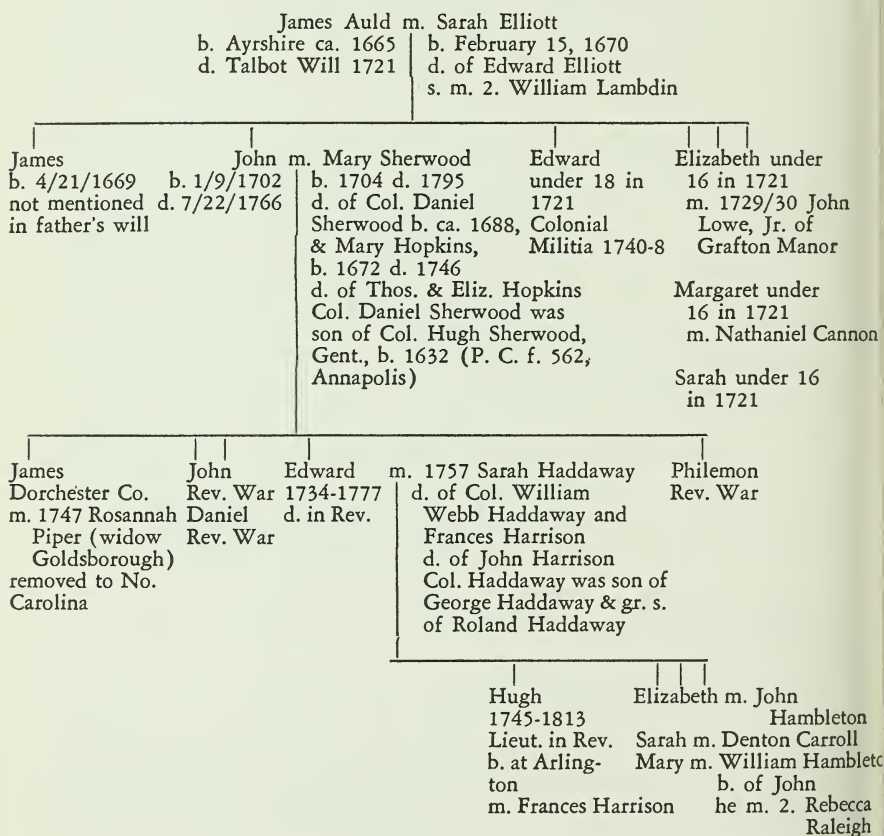
²⁷ Liber 25, f. 135 and Accounts Liber 5, f. 298, Annapolis.

²⁸ Mrs. Anna Ellis Harper, née Crouse, of St. Michael's, is the widow of Crittenden Harper, a great-grandson of Colonel Auld. Mrs. Harper is an antiquarian, who has aided greatly in the preparation of this article through her intimate knowledge of the St. Michael's and Bayside Districts. Let it also be recorded that she possesses the sword of Lt. Col. Auld, the weapon having been given her husband by his grandfather, Thomas Auld, of "Sharon," who had it from his father, Colinel Auld.

granddaughter of Mrs. Elizabeth Auld Dodson to Thomas Edward Sears, M. D., great-grandson of Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Auld, Jr. of Talbot County." Dr. Sears was a prominent physician of Baltimore, a genealogist of merit, and for many years chairman of the genealogical committee of the Maryland Historical Society. Beneath the inscription in the hand of the late Dr. Sears is this:

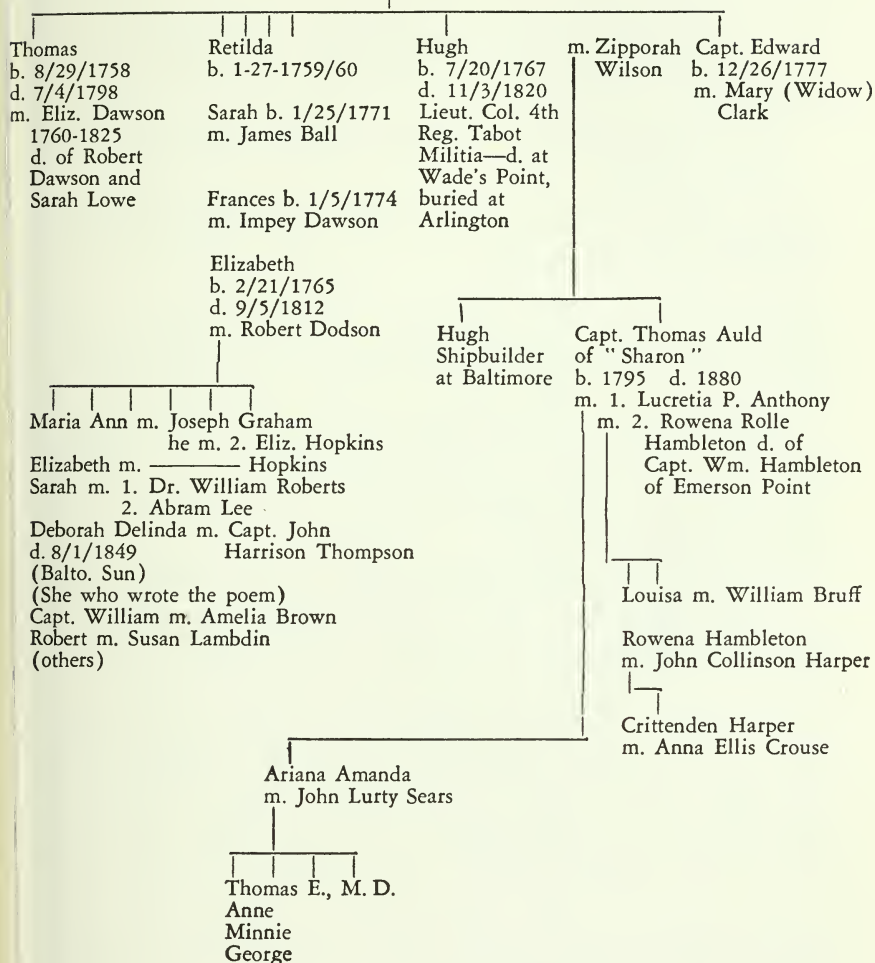
In this old book, if you choose to look
 You will find a record kept,
 Of a family called by the name of Auld
 Over whom a young girl wept
 And prayed that they should remembered be
 In the years when she too slept.

T. E. S., 1893



(Auld continued)

Edward m. Sarah Haddaway



REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Mansions of Virginia, 1706-1776. By THOMAS TILESTON WATERMAN. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1945. 456 pp. \$10.00.

This is a good-looking book, with its Williamsburg colors and excellent photographs. It sheds new light, too, and is scholarly, which is real relief after the customary "sweet and pretty" volumes of the past.

After short chapters on English antecedents and seventeenth century Virginia houses—ones like Greenspring and Bacon's Castle—we are launched on the tide of the great Renaissance: that is on that particular phase of it which had surged up from Vicenza, through France, and, by now, under the magic gusto of Wren, had fairly saturated the deep soil of England. Even in far away Virginia the followers of this glorious master were planting their well-bred hipped-roofed houses. Grouped dependencies, tall chimneys and ordered sash with wide frames and sturdy muntins were giving distinction to the spacious land along the James, the York and the Rappahannock.

These chapters—headed "Early Georgian," "Mid-Georgian" and "Late Georgian"—are fuller and bring us to robust Carter's Grove with its excellent separate-wing plan, by splendid curved-winged Mount Airy and on, far past the head of navigation, to that renowned Palladian "Roman villa" at Monticello.

It was a country where to be a landowner was everything. In this volume we are concerned chiefly with the homes of the great, not the average, planter, so many familiar high-lights are bound to be included. That virile suite of paneled rooms at Carter's Grove is here, those luxurious stairs at Rosewell and Shirley, the rich walls of Marmion, Westover's elegant clairvoyée and Stratford's great tray-ceilinged hall. Waterman has wrought handsomely, accurately and untiringly. For some he is, perhaps, a little too weighed and measured, but we read every word of him, noted his every item, from the clustered chimneys of the lower York and James all the way out to those amusingly devised and very architectural privies at Poplar Forest.

There is an excellent postscript which tells how the material for the book was gathered and how assumptions and restorations were made: mostly pretty convincing. And then there is a well-arranged Summary Sketch of the Mansions and convenient bibliography, glossary and index.

We may not have agreed when, under "English Antecedents," Coleshill was taken from the hand of Inigo Jones; but later on we were allowed to give the design of Wythe House to Taliaferro, Blandfield to Ariss and the

Randolph-Semple House to Jefferson and we have gained far more knowledge than was taken away.

What the author said about European influences, the design books used in Virginia and about Taliaferro being Jefferson's first architectural mentor was most interesting. We knew of the famous group that met at the Tavern, the Palace and the Wythe House, where young Jefferson was welcomed and heard "more good sense, more rational and philosophical conversation than in all my life beside"; but that this group almost certainly included Richard Taliaferro, Wythe's father-in-law, who was Virginia's foremost architect at that time, was news indeed.

This skillfully prepared and documented book with its fresh material will be a valuable addition to the historian's or architect's library.

ADDISON F. WORTHINGTON

Album of American History. Volume II, 1783-1853. Edited by JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. New York: Scribner's, 1945. 418 pp. \$7.50.

Using over 1300 illustrations connected by an excellent running text written by R. V. Coleman, the editors of the second volume of the *Album of American History* have aimed "to provide a true and representative picture of how our history *looked* between 1783 and 1853." Because this period was "one of national growth and ever-widening boundaries," special emphasis has been given to the frontier and westward expansion. Instead of the topical arrangement by Colonies in the first volume, the treatment in the present one is chronological by successive presidential administrations.

Contrary to the difficulty in locating an adequate supply of contemporary pictorial material for the earlier volume, the editors found such an abundance for the second that the difficulty was one of selection. Although many readers, especially Marylanders, may be disappointed at the omission of favorite pictures and scenes and the scant notice accorded their State, the book very graphically presents the evolution of the civilization of the United States during the first seventy years of its independence. Since many of the illustrations are taken from rare contemporary books and periodicals, attention is called to these interesting source materials, some of which should be reprinted.

Neither of the two volumes published thus far has an index. It is hoped that when the set is completed, a full index will be included. The addition of a few key maps would have given a unity to the book, which is lacking because of the diversity of subjects presented in a rather incoherent manner. In no way does the present work supplant *The Pageant of America*. It does give a less expensive and bulky presentation of representative illustrations of our social, economic, political, and cultural life in the period covered. It should find extensive use in our public schools.

B. FLOYD FLICKINGER

Lincoln and the South By J[AMES] G. RANDALL. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946. viii, 161 pp. \$1.50.

The lectures here published were delivered before a southern audience, the American audience most likely to be intensely "local." It is no doubt for this reason that Professor Randall's characterization stresses the southern influences on Lincoln's life to the virtual exclusion of the northern. There is a certain justice in this treatment, for it serves to emphasize Lincoln's unique ability to partake of the best in both northern and southern ideas. Mr. Randall's manifest enthusiasm for his subjects, however, occasionally leads him to inferences which are at first glance doubtful. It may be questioned, for example, whether Lincoln's neighbors in Indiana were "essentially Southerners" merely because some of them directed to Congress a petition in favor of slavery (pp. 12-13).

There are similar occasional suggestions of haste, as when Lincoln's political philosophy is defined as "liberal" because he was "conservative" in opposing "radicals" who were really "reactionaries" (p. 47).

But such objections cannot weigh heavily in the consideration of so small a book, professing to give no more than the broadest survey. Mr. Randall cannot be expected to marshal again the evidence he has already presented in *Lincoln the President: Springfield to Gettysburg*. As a distillation of some of that evidence, *Lincoln and the South* is a concise review of Lincoln's relations with the enemies he tried so hard to make friends.

EDWARD GARFIELD HOWARD

Records of Colonial Gloucester County, Virginia . . . Volume I. Compiled by POLLY CARY MASON (Mrs. George C. Mason). Newport News, Va.: the Author, 1946. 146 pp. \$5.00.

This is the first volume of a work which promises to fill a long-felt want: the putting-together of the available, surviving records of a Virginia county, which has twice had the misfortune of losing all its wills, deeds and court-proceedings in a court-house fire. Gloucester County, in common with Hanover, James City, Caroline, King and Queen and King William Counties, has long been the despair of the historian and the genealogist.

The present work is provided with a foreword by Dr. E. G. Swem and an interesting explanatory preface by the author. Among the illustrations is a map of the county as it was in colonial times and a photograph of an ancient Indian deed, dated 29th October, 1655: Indian Pindavako, guardian to the young king of Chiskojak, to Edward Wyatt. The fact that the original document is in the possession of the Huntington Library at San Marino, California, gives a good idea as to how the search for material has reached out into far places. Even more significant is the fact that one of the old tax-lists of the county was, until recently, in the posses-

sion of the Perrin family, one of the oldest and most respectable families of those parts.

The first 83 pages of this work are devoted to abstracts of all extant Gloucester County land-patents. The inclusion of all Gloucester land-grants in one volume is a thing of value, which is not lessened by the fact that abstracts of patents issued between 1623 and 1666 will be found in Mrs. Nugent's *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, Volume 1.

The tax-lists (1770-1791) are of especial interest, giving, as they do, the number of acres, stock, Negroes and carriages on which each respective inhabitant was taxed. For comparison, the author publishes the tax-list of 1770 side by side with that of 1782. The tax-list of Kingston Parish is excluded, and given separately along with that of Mathews County (1791), which, created in that year, was almost limitrophe with the former.

Among the larger land-owners (1000 acres and upwards) we are not surprised to find such first-class Virginia names as Armistead, Burwell, Grimes, Willis, Cooke, Whiting, Lewis, Page, Robinson, Perrin, Churchill, Peyton and Wiatt. Lewis Burwell leads off with 6800 acres in 1782—a considerable estate, though exceeded by not a few planters in Maryland at that time. It must be remembered, however, that some of these Gloucester County land-owners had lands in other counties. As a slave-owner Lewis Burwell was by far the most considerable, with 140 slaves. Many of the small-land owners, or yeomen, owned a slave or two.

In view of the approaching abolition of the law of entail, it is evident that a considerable number of the more distinguished families were destined to lose their status with the division of their lands, or to emigrate to towns, in order to engage in trade or to practice some profession. Historians should await with considerable interest the appearance of the second volume of Mrs. Mason's valuable work.

WILLIAM B. MARYE

George Alfred Townsend: One of Delaware's Outstanding Writers. By RUTHANNA HINDES. [Wilmington, Del.: the author, 1946.] 72 pp. \$2.50.

It would not be strictly accurate to say that through this slim biography Miss Hindes has rescued the memory of George Alfred Townsend from oblivion. As a matter of fact, Townsend is known to a great many literate Marylanders as the author of that classic novel of the Delmarva Peninsula, *The Entailed Hat*. In one edition or another this book is to be found in more than a few private libraries on the Eastern Shore. Two other books by Townsend, *Katy of Catoctin* and *Tales of the Chesapeake*, have Maryland locales and to a very much lesser degree serve to keep alive the name of the author.

Little else is remembered about Townsend, a man who in his day was one of the nation's outstanding journalists, a writer of prodigious industry and a news commentator and analyst of considerable influence. Miss

Hindes points out that Townsend, writing under the pseudonym of "Gath," compared favorably with "Walter Lippman, Heywood Broun or any of the other well-known columnists of today in . . . timeliness and number of readers," and the truth of this observation becomes readily evident when the circumstances of Townsend's career are recalled.

By the very nature of the newspaperman's profession, however, his work is necessarily evanescent, even ephemeral. The old saying that "there's nothing so out of date as yesterday's newspaper" is perfectly correct, and all journalists know it. Townsend knew it, too, and so it would seem that in the latter years of his life he turned from newspaper writing to the production of novels, books on travel and poetry in an attempt to establish for himself some measure of literary fame. He was not entirely successful, for *The Entailed Hat* appears to be the only one of his works to survive on its own merits.

Miss Hindes' little biography, consequently, is worthy not only as a permanent record of the career of a peculiarly talented author but also it is a reminder that Townsend's novels represented but one phase of his literary skill. Although Miss Hindes lists Townsend as a Delaware writer, he lived as a boy in a half-dozen Maryland towns on the Eastern Shore where his father, a Methodist minister, had charges, and at the peak of his popularity as a writer he settled in Western Maryland, building that curious and exotic castle, "Gapland," on South Mountain near Boonsboro. Thus Townsend is pretty close to being half a Marylander, and as such his name should not be forgotten in this State. Miss Hindes' book will help materially to see that this does not come to pass.

JAMES C. MULLIKIN

The Formans of New York . . . 1645-1945. By HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN. [Baltimore: The Author, 1946]. [62] pp.

This is an attractive little volume, which, in quality, is just what one would expect of its compiler, the well-known architect and author, Henry Chandlee Forman. It is far more readable than most genealogies. The author gives very interesting details concerning the lands around Oyster Bay, Long Island, which were owned and dwelt upon by the early Formans, and illustrates his points with an instructive map. The work is illustrated with a portrait of Mrs. Jacob Forman (1766-1842), the arms of Sir William Forman, Lord Mayor of London, and (most charming of all) a sketch by the author of the old Forman homestead in Westchester County, New York. There are two genealogical charts, one illustrated with coats-of-arms. This is the family from which sprang General Thomas Marsh Forman, of "Rose Hill," Cecil County, Maryland, a miniature of whom, together with other valuable relics, was recently presented to the Society by his great-great niece, Miss Mary Forman Day.

WILLIAM B. MARYE

Days of Now and Then. By ELIZABETH GORDON BIDDLE GORDON.
Philadelphia: Dorrance, [1945] [260] pp. \$2.00.

This is a book of lively reminiscences covering phases of the social life of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania from the 1890's to the present. It might almost be sub-titled "Parties, Politics and Poetry"—with the emphasis diminuendo in the order given. Mrs. Gordon reports without inhibitions her experiences, including both family life and public life, with evident enjoyment, from her early venture as a young business woman in Newport News to her grand-daughter's coming-out party.

Through the pages pass such figures as Lady Astor, the Duchess of Windsor, several Presidents and their wives, "Sir" Walter Poultney, Theodore Marburg, and the Byrds, besides a host of family connections. The book provides glimpses of a way of life, now nearing extinction, which are rarely to be found in print.

JAMES W. FOSTER

The History of the Hoffman Paper Mills in Maryland. By MAY A. SEITZ.
[Towson, Md.: the author, 1946]. 63 pp. \$2.00.

This is a story eminently worth telling—the account of a patriarchal enterprise that existed from 1775 or 1776 to 1893. Founded by William Hoffman, the immigrant, the business appears to have been the first paper mill in Maryland and provided paper, the author tells us, for use of State and Continental Congress. From family papers, public records and newspaper accounts the slender story of development of the various mills in the northern part of Baltimore County, all owned by the founder or his descendants, is woven. The post office known as "Paper Mills," changed in the 1880's to Hoffmanville in honor of William H. Hoffman, grandson of the founder, was the focus of the enterprise. The site lies today under the waters of Prettyboy Reservoir.

"Through generations," says Mrs. Seitz, "the Hoffmans had almost sold their souls to the paper," "a material without which no civilization can rise." "With stubborn tenacity they upheld the family tradition . . . Therefore the story of the Hoffman paper mills is almost the story of the Hoffman family." Considerable genealogical material is given. The attractive little book is documented and illustrated with reproductions of old photographs and paper watermarks.

J. W. F.

OTHER RECENT BOOKS RECEIVED

- Major Trends in American Church History.* By FRANCIS X. CURRAN, S. J. New York: America Press, 1946. [xix] 198 pp. \$2.50. Gift.
- Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon.* By THOMAS D. COPE. (Reprinted from the *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. LXII, June, 1946). [14 pp]. Gift.
- Encyclopedia of American Biography.* New Series, Vol. XVIII. New York, American Historical Co., 1945. Gift.
- The Beck Family in America.* By WILLIAM M. BECK. Galion, O.: the author, 1940. 37 pp. Gift.
- Chew Family.* From Records of [the late] FRANK CHEW OSBURN. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Estate of author, 1945. 38 pp. Gift.
- Cockey Family Genealogy.* Compiled by John O. Cockey and Loyal C. McLaughlin. 1946. (Typescript). [37 pp.]. Gift.
- American Genealogical Index*, Vol. XIX (Hoyt-Jeffreys). Edited by FREMONT RIDER. Middletown, Conn.: 1946. (Lithoprint).
-

NOTES AND QUERIES

COORDINATING HISTORY

An attempt to describe the location of an old, historic landmark, such as a tree under which some treaty was signed, a boundary stone of an original land grant, a grave, or a building dating back to Colonial days, with any degree of exactness or permanence is an undertaking of magnitude. Such a description might read: "The building stands on a small knoll, due west 650 feet from the banks of St. Mary's River, about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile southeast of the crossroads at Johnson's Corner, and 1000 feet east of the county road."

Fifty years hence, the building may have vanished, the knoll may have been graded away, the river bank may have receded, Johnson's Corner may be Smithville and the county road may have been relocated and designated State Highway 12. These fanciful changes are by no means more extensive than those that have taken place in the past fifty years. Quite the contrary is true.

Contrast the above with the description of the same building under the

Maryland Coordinate System; simply 864,945; 476,282. Thus, with the aid of any map showing the Maryland Coordinate System, any fairly intelligent person could, without instruments, find the original site closely enough for most purposes. With the aid of a competent engineer the location could be determined quite accurately, fifty years hence or five thousand, as long as the record lasts.

The Maryland Coordinate system is a system of north-south and east-west lines, bearing a known relationship to the latitude and longitude monuments established by the U. S. Government. If every one of these monuments were destroyed, their location still could be re-established by astronomical observations. This is unlikely to happen. This system may sound appalling but its use is simple and facilitates not only the perpetuation of locations, but also the filing (or cross indexing) of historical information by geographical subdivisions.

Let us assume that the aforementioned building was the homestead of a land grant known as "Searcher's Plight," built about 1680. Let us assume further that our historical records have been filed in compartments, each containing records pertaining to an area of the earth's surface 5,000 feet square, or if this is not practicable, that our cross index is arranged in this manner. A searcher might know only that he was interested in a tract that he could point out on the map. Scaling the coordinates roughly, the librarian or archivist would turn at once to compartment 860-475 and find all the information bearing on "Searchers Plight" in one place, together with that concerning the adjoining properties. Or the searcher might know only the family name of the grantee, or the tract name or any other of the present avenues of approach. If all the records carried the figures 864,945; 476,282, any one of them would give both the exact geographical information and a cross reference to the great mass of information about this and adjoining properties that otherwise only could be compiled at great expense.

The Maryland Coordinates are ticked off on the sides of the maps published by the Army Map Service, Washington, D. C., and of the 1946 edition of the Maryland State Roads map. It is a matter of a few minutes work to join the tick marks with straight lines to locate any point. As time goes by, no new map will be complete without the state grid system.

A few years ago this suggested system would not have been possible. The creation by the Maryland Legislature of the Maryland Coordinate System has furnished an *unchanging reference framework* and the aerial mapping of our State by Federal agencies has furnished a cheap means by which the coordinates of landmarks of all kinds may be scaled from the maps and recorded for all time, and in such fashion that the researcher in the future may not have to wade through constantly increasing masses of records. To one who uses this same system for filing engineering data such as road and bridge surveys, bench marks, flood water elevations, boundary monument locations, triangulation, etc., it seems the method outlined has distinct possibilities.

Maybe the name for our land grant was ill-chosen, for if the coordinates were on record, the name could have been "Searcher's Delight."

B. EVERETT BEAVIN
c/o J. E. Greiner Co., Baltimore

JOHN LYON, MATHEMATICIAN

The Touchstone by John Lyon,¹ a Frederick Green imprint recently found among the Peabody Library's cache of uncatalogued pamphlets acquired some eighty years ago, is, so far as is known, a unique copy and previously unrecorded.

The pamphlet is a spirited attack by John Lyon on Andrew Ellicott's astronomical measurements recently calculated for and published in Mary Katherine Goddard's almanac for 1781.² Lyon insists Ellicott's meridian for Baltimore is incorrect and that the almanac's phases of the moon are inaccurate, sometimes off as much as half an hour. Lyon further asserts that his newly invented globe and orrery can easily correct these mistakes. To this attack the author appended "A Short Treatise of Algebra."

Ellicott is well-known: Miss Catherine Mathews has written a biography; there is a sketch of him in the *Dictionary of American Biography*; and parts of his Journal (1796-1800) have been published. Ellicott achieved considerable prominence as a surveyor for several of the states in settling their boundary disputes. He served as one of a group of four Commissioners appointed by Virginia and Pennsylvania and he performed a similar assignment for Georgia in establishing that state's northern boundary. But his outstanding achievement was probably his survey of the "territory" of Columbia, the first to be published, after the plan executed by Pierre L'Enfant.

The pamphlet, issued in 1781, states that Ellicott was then teaching mathematics in the Baltimore Academy; if this is correct it, advances by four years the date usually given for the time he began to live in Baltimore and advances for a similar period his previously known connection with the Academy. He ended his career as Professor of Mathematics at West Point. Ellicott was a son of Joseph, one of the founders of Ellicott City, Maryland.

Of Lyon little is known. From the pamphlet it is clear that he was at

¹ *The Touchstone: a Philosophical Controversy, Interspersed with Satire and Raillery; Wherein a New and Elegant Improvement of the Theory of the Earth and Moon's Motion is Asserted and Proved Beyond Contradiction.* By John Lyon. Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green, MDCCLXXXI.

Sm. 8^{vo}. [A]-F⁴; G²-I⁴. C²-⁴ incorrectly numbered E²-⁴. 34 leaves; 68 pp. P. [1] title, verso blank; [3] dedication "To the Impartial Public"; verso blank; [5]-9 preface; [10] blank; 11-35 text; [36] blank; [37]-42 postscript; [43]-66 "A Short Treatise of Algebra"; [67-68] Advertisement.

² *The Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina Almanack and Ephemeris, For the Year of Our Lord, 1781; The Astronomical Part of this Almanack was Calculated by the Ingenius Andrew Ellicott, Esq., of Baltimore-Town.* Baltimore, [1780].

least a part-time resident of Annapolis. In 1780 he petitioned the House of Delegates for two thousand dollars to go to Philadelphia. The request said just that, and consequently the money was denied him. In *The Touchstone* he states that the purpose of the trip was to demonstrate the new globe and orrery to the American Philosophical Society and the large sum was necessary because the instruments were expensive to transport. In 1782 he asked to have a "new treatise on arithmetic, for the use of the schools" safeguarded by the House of Delegates against infringement. There is no record that the treatise was ever published.

Lyon speaks of the American Philosophical Society in very respectful terms. Though Ellicott "boasted his being a member of the philosophical society," Lyon denied it. Ellicott was not actually elected to membership until 1786. The inventor felt that, had he been able to afford the trip to Philadelphia to demonstrate his superior astronomical instruments, he might have been offered membership. The Society's records do not mention a John Lyon.

There is a possible reference to Lyon in a letter from Charles Willson Peale to John Muir of Annapolis;³ Peale recommends John Lyon as a "good mechanic" to help in the construction of a bell for the Annapolis firehouse. It is conceivable that a mathematician and inventor of an orrery was also a "good mechanic" but to make the connection any more definite is, at the moment, impossible.

The pamphlet has two additional points of interest: (1) it is inscribed in an unknown hand to "the Hon^{ble} Charles Carroll of Carrollton Esq^r." (2) an appended advertisement refers to a "work [which] will shortly be published, in four books. The first is a treatise on natural and experimental philosophy, being the true theory of the earth and moon's motions perfected. . . . The second book is, the Paradox, being a treatise on natural and experimental philosophy, containing all the discoveries of the earth and moon. . . . The third book, a Treatise on natural and experimental philosophy, containing the last and most beautiful discovery of longitude that ever will be known. . . . The fourth, is a Perpetual Lunar Almanack . . . dedicated to the American Philosophical Society. The whole either stitched or bound together according to the circumstances of time, place, and persons concerned." Available bibliographical sources do not indicate the book was ever published.

Besides revealing another example of early Maryland typography, a previously unrecorded Frederick Green imprint, this pamphlet gives us knowledge of an unknown Maryland mathematician, inventor, and astronomer of the eighteenth century, and its appended advertisement indicates that a scientific book in four parts was being considered for publication in the last troublesome days of the Revolution. There is need for more knowledge of John Lyon and his various intellectual activities.

HARRISON WILLIAMS

³ Baltimore, January 22, 1804. In the Maryland Historical Society's Miscellaneous MS File.

Bayly (Bailey)—Information is wanted about the antecedents and family connections of Mountjoy Bayly (sometimes spelled Bailey) of Frederick County, Maryland. He was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati; and on June 31, 1791, was the Marshal of the parade at Frederick held in honor of George Washington. He later moved to Washington, occupying some official position in the Senate and died there March 22, 1836. Pierce Bayley of Loudoun County, Virginia, had a brother named, Mountjoy Bayley. It is particularly desired to know whether or not there is any relationship between these two families.

WALTER H. BUCK
809 Union Trust Bldg., Baltimore.

THE COVER PICTURE

The view on the cover shows the garden front of that distinguished example of Georgian architecture, the Hammond-Harwood House, Annapolis, referred to in Mrs. Beirne's article on Buckland. Built about 1774 by Matthias Hammond, the house has also been the home of the Pinkney, Chase, Loockerman and Harwood families. Since 1940 it has been owned by the Hammond-Harwood House Association which maintains the house, contents and garden as a museum. The engraving is from a photograph by Pickering in the collection of the Enoch Pratt Library.

CONTRIBUTORS

LOUIS A. SIGAUD, author of the authoritative *Belle Boyd, Confederate Spy*, published in 1944, sends the paper on Mrs. Greenhow from his home in Brooklyn, N. Y. A native of New Jersey, but of French descent, he is a veteran of World War I, and later was lieutenant colonel in the Military Intelligence Reserve Section, U. S. A. Col. Sigaud will welcome from readers of this article any further information bearing on Mrs. Greenhow's family, early life and career. ☆ Member of the Society's Council, ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE (Mrs. Francis F.) is co-author of *The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners* (Annapolis, 1941), has served as secretary of the Hammond-Harwood House Association, and is now President of the Board of the Union Memorial Hospital. She is a daughter of the late Daniel R. Randall, attorney and historian of Annapolis and Baltimore. ☆ LUCY LEIGH BOWIE, author of monographs on American historical topics and occasional contributor to the *Magazine*, has based the paper here published on a collection of family letters. ☆ EMERSON B. ROBERTS, whose articles on Eastern Shore families have appeared from time to time in these pages, is a business man of Pittsburgh.

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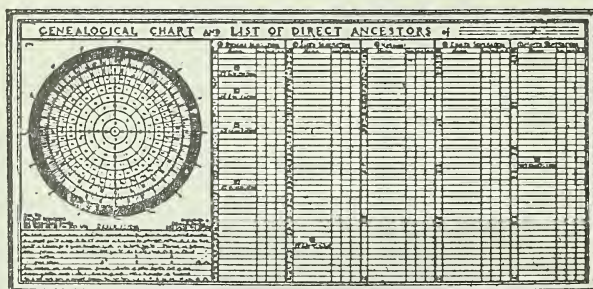
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BALTIMORE AND THE CRISIS OF 1861

Introduction by CHARLES MCHENRY HOWARD ¹



THE following letters, copies of letters, and other documents are from the papers of General Isaac Ridgeway Trimble (b. 1805, d. 1888). They are confined to a brief period of great excitement in Baltimore, viz, after the riot of April 19, 1861, when Federal troops were attacked by the mob while being marched through the City streets, up to May 13th of that year, when General Butler, with a large body of troops occupied Federal Hill, after which Baltimore was substantially under control of the

¹ Some months before his death in 1942 the late Charles McHenry Howard (a grandson of Charles Howard, president of the Board of Police in 1861) placed the papers here printed in the Editor's hands for examination, and offered to write an introduction if the Committee on Publications found them acceptable for the *Magazine*. Owing to the extraordinary events related and the revelation of an episode unknown in Baltimore history, Mr. Howard's proposal was promptly accepted. After his death the papers could not be found. However, since Mr. Howard had stated that they were the property of Dr. I. Ridgeway Trimble (grandson of General Trimble, a principal in this correspondence), inquiry was made of him soon after his return to Baltimore from his Army service in World War II. It is gratifying to record not only that Dr. Trimble at once brought in both the papers and Mr. Howard's Introduction, but also that he presented the manuscripts to the Society—EDITOR.

military forces of the Union, and the civil authorities were dominated by the military.

As a result of the great excitement which preceded and followed the occurrences of April 19th, voluntary organizations were being formed, and the City authorities decided to utilize and control such volunteers, for the assistance of the police and the preservation of order in the City, as well as, possibly, for future defense or military purposes, according to what the future situation of the State and City might be, in the conflict among the States which was then not merely impending but had begun (the bombardment and surrender of Fort Sumter, from which the beginning of war is sometimes accounted, was on April 14th). For that purpose they selected General Trimble to take command of all such organized bodies who might place themselves under his orders, and discharge such duties under the direction of the City's Board of Police.

General Trimble was a West Point graduate of the class of 1822, who had served in the Army, attaining to the rank of Lieutenant when he retired in 1831, to carry on the profession of a civil engineer. He subsequently offered his services to the Confederate Government, and served with distinction as a major general of the Confederate forces until he lost a leg and was captured at Gettysburg and held a prisoner until exchanged for the Federal Major Generals Crook and Kelly in March, 1865. He immediately hastened south to rejoin General Lee, overtaking the army at Lynchburg a few days before Lee's surrender. He rallied the Confederate forces about Lynchburg, but after Lee's surrender at Appomattox he surrendered himself, taking the same parole given to the officers at Appomattox. He lived in Baltimore until his death in 1888.

It will be noticed that the approaching occupation of the City led to the speedy disbandment of all such volunteer forces, and terminated General Trimble's charge in much less than a month after he was appointed.

Of special interest, perhaps, is the confidential mission upon which Col. Francis J. Thomas, Adjutant General of the Volunteer Forces, was sent to Virginia, to obtain ordnance and munitions from the Virginia authorities, for the defense of Baltimore. Virginia passed its ordinance of secession on April 17th, ratified by popular vote on May 23rd, but prior to such ratification had

already, by April 25th, entered into defensive arrangements with the authorities of the seceded States. Apparently the supplies obtained by Col. Thomas were sent as far as Winchester; but their delivery in Maryland was doubtless forestalled by the disbandment of the volunteer forces, and the occupation of Baltimore by the Federal troops.

Office Board of Police,

Baltimore, April 21st 1861

Col. Isaac R. Trimble

Baltimore—

Sir./

A large number of our fellow Citizens, have apprized this Board that they are organizing themselves into Associations for the defense of the City; various rumours having led them to believe that it's safety is seriously endangered.—

The Board of Police will be glad to avail themselves of the aid of all such Associations as desire to act in a regular and combined manner. They respectfully request that you will place yourself at the head of this movement, and take command of all organized Bodies who may choose to place themselves under your Orders.—

It seems scarcely necessary, but to avoid all possible future mis-understanding, allow me to say, that if you favor us by acting in compliance with our above request, we will of course expect you to act exclusively under the directions of this Board.—

I am—very respectfully—

Your obed^t serv^t—

(By order of the Board)

Charles Howard Pres^t—

COPY—

Balto April 21, 1861

Charles Howard Esqr

President of the Board of Police

Sir

Your letter of this date has been received and duly considered.

I accept the Command tendered to me, and will act under the advice and directions of the Board of Police during the present emergency, or until other duties as a citizen call me elsewhere—

Yours respectfully

I R Trimble

Office Board of Police,

Baltimore, April 21st 18613½ o'cl^k P. M.

Col. I. R. Trimble—

Sir/

You are requested to dismiss the several Bodies under your command, for refreshments, with orders to re-assemble at 7 o'cl^k this even^g.—

Respectf^{ly} — & c

Charles Howard—

Prest—

MAYORS OFFICE

CITY HALL

Baltimore 22 April 1861

It is ordered by the Mayor and the Board of Police that *no provisions of any kind* be transferred from the City of Baltimore, to any point or place, from this time, until further orders, without special permission.

The execution of this order is entrusted to Col. I. R. Trimble

Geo Wm Brown²

By order of the Board of Police

Charles Howard

Prest^t

MAYORS OFFICE

CITY HALL

Baltimore April 22^d 1861

Col. I. R. Trimble

Sir./

It is deemed necessary for the safety and protection of the City, that no Steamboat be permitted to leave the harbor without our express sanction.—

Please see to the execution of this Order. We entrust you with the authority to give in your discretion permits to such Boats as you may think should be allowed to depart.—

Geo Wm Brown

(By order of the Board of Police)

Charles Howard

Prest—

² Mayor of Baltimore

Office Board of Police,

Baltimore, April 22^d 1861

Col. I. R. Trimble.—

Sir./

The authority given you to grant permits for stores of provisions to leave the City, is hereby revoked. The Board deem it imperatively necessary that none should be sent away.—

Respectf^{ly} & c.

(By order of the Board)

Chas Howard

Prest—

Office Board of Police,

Baltimore, April 22^d 1861.—

Col. I. R. Trimble

Sir./

The Board of Police fully appreciate and acknowledge the zeal and promptitude with which the Citizens of Baltimore have manifested their disposition to organize themselves for the defense of the City, and the preservation of peace and good order, under the directions of the Civic Authorities.— And it is hoped that such organization will be continued, and made as general and as perfect as practicable.—

To avoid however all causeless excitement, you will please direct the Associations under your command, to refrain at the present-juncture from using martial music in the streets.—The sound of a drum at once collects crowds, and gives rise to the circulation of all sorts of rumours, calculated to produce unnecessary, and mischievous excitement.

For the same reason we desire that all unnecessary parading of Bodies of Men, not at the time in execution of your Orders, may be dispensed with.—

Respectf^{ly}. By order of the Board

Charles Howard

Prest

Balt^o 23^d Apr 1861

If Major Trimble will issue a general order for the parties needing blankets, to apply to him for orders on Mess Whiteley Stone & Co., it will meet the approbation and sanction of this Board, we having a contract with that house for such articles.

C. Howard

Prest.

Office Board of Police,

Baltimore, April 24th 1861

Col. I. R. Trimble—

Sir./

In the case of the Queen Victoria, a British Vessel now partly laden with grain or other "provisions," the Board have said to the Mess^{rs} Tucker, that you will be instructed to let her depart, with all that she may have on Board at the present moment.—But that we cannot under existing circumstances, give our sanction to her taking on Board any articles, whether already purchased for her or not, which are on the list of those of which the carrying out of the City is prohibited.—

Mess^{rs} T. have also been cautioned, that if the vessel sails, there may be great risk of her being stopped by some popular outbreak, unless she gets off quietly, and her preparations for departure, and her actual sailing be accomplished in such manner as to excite as little observation as possible.—

The Board regret that the business of vessels either under our own, or any Foreign Flags shall be interfered with.— But it is obviously impossible that whilst our own Citizens are prohibited from sending provisions from the City, even to other parts of this State, such articles can be allowed to be sent away by being placed under the protection of any Foreign Flag.—

Any other Foreign vessels similarly situated with the Victoria, may be allowed to sail with what they may have on board at this date; but they cannot take in any additional provisions or other prohibited Articles.— If they do this, we can give no sanction, as matters now stand, to their sailing.—

This Instruction refers entirely to foreign vessels.— If any belonging to our own Citizens are in the same condition, viz.—*at this date* partly laden, apply for permission to sail, refer the applications to this Board, and we will decide what instructions to give you in respect to them.— If such vessels continue after this day to take in provisions, and afterwards apply for permits, it is very questionable whether they will be regarded in precisely the same light with those having on board no such articles *not* loaded today or previously.— Indeed I believe their departure will not be sanctioned.— I make these last suggestions, to enable you to answer casual enquiries.

Respectfly &c

By order of the Board

Charles Howard

Pres^t.

[Copy?]

Balto April 25 1861

As applications are constantly making for permits for provisions I beg leave to propose that you order an account to be taken of such provisions as are now here and such as will soon be here. It is important that as few obstructions as possible should be placed in the way of regular trade whilst at the same time a proper regard should be observed for our own wants.

I. R. Trimble

Office Board of Police,

Baltimore, 25th April 1861

Col I. R. Trimble

Sir

The Mayor and the Board of Police are satisfied upon the fullest examination they have been able to make, that by removing the prohibition upon the Export of *Provisions, Bread Stuffs* and *Bituminous Coal*, the home supply will be increased and the prices reduced. They have therefore, in compliance with the unanimous wish of the mercantile community, ordered that the prohibition be immediately removed.

They have ascertained that there is at present an ample supply on hand.

Geo Wm Brown

Mayor

/ By order of the Board of Police /

Charles Howard

Prest.

Office Board of Police,

Baltimore, April 26th 1861

(3.30 P. M.)

Col. I. R. Trimble.—

Sir./

The Board of Police deem it necessary, to guard against dangers to the Public Peace, that your Forces should be got together at as early an hour as may be; and that they be kept together until further notice. It is however of absolute importance that they be collected with as little outward display and ceremony as possible, and that nothing be done to increase the excitement prevailing in many quarters of the Town—

The object of the Board is that your Men shall in such detachments as may be necessary, aid the Police in their proper duties in protecting property and repressing tumults— Let them so act when called on per-

sonally or by written notice from the Marshal Deputy Marshal—or any of the Captains, Lieutenants or Sergeants of Police.—

Respectf^{ly}—

Yours, & c

(By order of the Board)

Charles Howard³

Prest^t.

Office Board of Police,

Baltimore, April 26th 1861

(8.10^m o c^{lk} P M)

Col. I. R. Trimble

Sir./

Our present information justifies us in instructing you now to dismiss all your command, except a strong guard to be left at your Armory.—

At the same time it is advisable that your order be given for all your Force to re-assemble at 7 o'clock to-morrow morning, and to remain in readiness for duty until further notice.

(By order of the Board)

Respectf^{ly} Your's &c

Charles Howard

Prest^t

³ The state of affairs is illustrated by the following article from *The Sun* of April 26: "WAR EXCITEMENT IN BALTIMORE—. . . Early yesterday morning the people gathered in the streets, and after satisfying themselves that there was no probability of an immediate attack on Baltimore by the federal forces, turned their attention towards Virginia and the South. The intelligence of the arrival of reinforcements from the South for Norfolk and Virginia was much spoken of, and appeared to give great satisfaction. At the several volunteer armories the enrollment was pushed with the usual vigor, and the volunteers seemed anxious to perfect themselves in the drill as rapidly as possible . . .

"On Tuesday afternoon Lieut. Maloney, with a squad of twenty men, went to Carroll county, at a point near the Pennsylvania line, in search of some cannon said to be there. He succeeded in finding two pieces, besides some fifty rifles, which were taken possession of. Some of the people in the neighborhood at once volunteered to bring the cannon to the city, and reached here with them at a late hour on Wednesday night. They were deposited in Holliday street, near the office of the marshal of police, and will be immediately mounted for effective service . . .

"ARMORIES OF THE VOLUNTEERS—The armories of the volunteers yesterday presented a lively aspect. Throughout the whole day the men were drilled in squads, and many of them are already prepared to take the field, should necessity require it.—Efficient members of the uniformed companies have tendered their aid and regularly conduct the drills."—EDITOR.

Office Board of Police,

Baltimore, April 27th 1861
(10.15 A. M.)

Col. I. R. Trimble

Sir./

There appears at this moment no necessity for continuing to keep all your Force assembled.— You will therefore please dismiss for such time as you think proper any portion of your command at your discretion.—

Events may of course transpire at any time that may make it necessary for us to make a call upon you.— You will therefore judge for what time it will be judicious to dismiss any of your Men, and what measures you will take for their getting together again promptly in the interval if wanted.

Respectfly—&c
(By order of the Board)
Charles Howard
Pres^t—

Head Quarters of
Genl Trimble

Baltimore, April 27 1861

Captain I P. Levy.

Dear Sir.

At your request you are authorised to organise a corps of Marines 60 strong for the City or the State when called upon by the proper authorities. No pay will be stipulated for, untill the corps is called into the service— You are authorised to provide rations for a guard of twenty five men who will be stationed to protect the arms

I. R. Trimble

Copie.

Office Board of Police

Baltimore April 27th 1861

Col Isaac R Trimble

Dear Sir

The Mayor and Board of Police have to day been applied to by several Merchants of the City, who request the removal of restrictions upon the exportation of Flour, Breadstuff &c.

The Mayor and Board of Police would say to you that they have no desire to prevent supplies being sent to persons and places within the limits of the state, but at present and until satisfied that further and full supplies to meet the demand both for export and for home consumption

will be received, A due regard for the wants of our own community makes it absolutely necessary that we should forbid all shipments to points out of our own state, or in large quantities to points even within the limits of the state

You will exercise your judgment in granting permission for the removal of the articles mentioned, to points within the state. And we will thank you to keep a list of parties shipping the articles, and quantities, and make daily reports to the Board of Police

Respectfully &c
(By order of the Board
Charles Howard
President

Office Board of Police,

Baltimore, May 1st 1861

Dear Sir

Notwithstanding the application for further information to the Corn Exchange, the Board of Police in view of the great importance of immediate action and influenced by all the information which they have been able to obtain, have just passed an order removing all restrictions, a copy of which is enclosed

Very Respectfully
By order of the Board
Charles Howard
Pres^t

Please give instructions at once to all your officers.

The Board of Police

have removed all the restrictions imposed by them on the exportation of Flour, Breadstuffs or any articles whatsoever.

The Restrictions were imposed solely on the ground that the safety of the people of Baltimore and their protection from scarcity of food required them

In Consequence of representations and statements made to the Board by a large Committee of members of the Flour & Corn Exchange and by many merchants and other citizens that the continuance of these restrictions is no longer necessary, the Board have taken great pleasure in removing them

Respectf^{ly}
C Howard, Pres^t
(By order of the Board)

Office Board of Police

Baltimore, May 2nd 1861

Col. Isaac R. Trimble

Sir./

On the 21st ult^o during the intense excitement which pervaded the whole Community, numbers of the Citizens pressed forward to offer their aid in the defence of the City, whose safety was believed to be imminently endangered.— Many of them stated that they were organizing themselves into Associations, so as to enable them to act in a combined and orderly manner, whenever their services might be required.—

On the same day the Board advised you that they would be glad to avail themselves of the aid of all such Associations as desired to act in that manner, and requested you to place yourself at the head of the movement, and to take command of all organized Bodies who might choose to place themselves under your Orders.— It was stated also that you would of course be expected to act under the directions exclusively of the Board.—

The alacrity with which so many came forward to report to you their readiness, as Members of various voluntary associations to act under you whenever their services might be needed to protect and defend the City cannot be too highly appreciated, or warmly acknowledged.—

The immediate and pressing danger to the safety of the City has now in the judgment of the Board, in a great measure, if not altogether passed away; and of course so has the necessity for the extraordinary efforts deemed requisite for it's protection.—

The Board desire therefore that you will in the course of the forenoon of to-morrow, (Friday— 3^d May) select from among the Associations that have reported themselves to you, One Hundred reliable Men, who may be willing to volunteer to continue to give their aid to the City Authorities.—That you will collect all the Arms of every kind, which have been loaned by the City, or any of it's Officers, to any Member of every Association which has been acting under your directions, and have them safely kept under a guard of such number of the above Force of 100 Men as may be necessary, until a final disposition can be made of them. Please report as soon as possible the number of Arms collected.

All other Associations, than the above Force of 100 Men, you will please, in the course of the same forenoon, relieve from making further Reports to you.— With gratitude for the readiness with which they have performed, so far as we are advised, all the services which you have asked at their hands, the Board hope that they will with the same promptitude respond to a call for their aid, should any future emergency render it necessary for the Authorities of the City to request it.—

I am—

Very respectfully Your's
By order of the Board)
Charles Howard, Pres^t.

Head Quarters U. V.

May 3rd, 1861

Morning Report

Effective force 2461 arms delivered 774

F. Harrison Jr
AidTo Gen^l Trimble—

[The letter below is the report of Col. Francis J. Thomas on his mission to obtain arms and munitions in Virginia.]

Baltimore May 5. 1861.

General I. R. Trimble:

I have the honor to report my return from the confidential mission on which I was sent, and to render the following history of my proceedings.

From the nature of my duties, and the importance of secrecy, my instructions were purely verbal, and I was left almost entirely to my own discretion.

As you are aware, the principal object of my mission was, to procure a supply of Ordnance for the better arming and defence of the City. I left here on the 24th ult^o. for Norfolk, and on the 25th called on General Gwynne commanding the forces of Virginia at that point. The General at first promised me all the arms I might need, but afterwards decided that he could only spare me twenty 32 p^d Guns. Knowing these to be insufficient, I visited the Navy Yard in charge of Commodore French Forrest, who, on learning my mission, generously told me that the City of Baltimore was entitled to and should have, all the aid she might need. By his advice, I selected the following list, viz:

(20) Twenty	32. pd. Guns
(24) Twenty four	24 " "
(5) Five 8 inch, or	68 " Columbiads

Together with a small quantity of shot, some cannon locks, as models, and a few such small articles.

I then decided to visit Richmond to get the approval of Governor Letcher, which was cheerfully accorded to me.

I at first intended to send these arms by water, as I previously informed you, and had a portion of them loaded when the Blockade by the U. S. Government of the Virginia waters, and Cruisers in the Chesapeake Bay rendered that proceeding, in my opinion too hazardous. I therefore at once shipped them overland by Rail, according to the programme in my instructions to Mayor Gayre, a copy of which is herewith submitted.

The Guns will be at Winchester, where they will await my orders, between now and Wednesday next, and, in all probability from 10.000 to

15,000 stand of small arms furnished by the authorities of North and South Carolina.

I have been compeled to draw on Marshal Kane ⁴ as follows:

April	27.	draft	for	\$65 ⁰⁰	favor	I. R. Anderson
"	"	do	"	40. ⁰⁰	"	do.
"	30	do	"	150. ⁰⁰	"	S. Cherry.
May	1.	do	"	100 ⁰⁰	"	W. S. Gayre
May	2	do	"	500 ⁰⁰	}	favor M. G. Harman, Quartermaster General of Virginia
May	"	do	"	250		
				250		
				500		
				500		

I presume however that General Harmon will not need all the money placed in his hands. He, as well as the other officers entrusted with this duty will render me accounts of their expenditures, when I will be prepared to render my own, and to pay over the balance, if any, into your hands.

Trusting, Sir, that I have discharged the duties entrusted to me the satisfaction of the authorities, and that the discretionary powers I felt myself bound to take the responsibility of assuming will be approved, I remain

Yours very respectfully.

Fras. J. Thomas

Adjt. Gen.

Vol. Forces

[Here follow certain papers or copies of them, written or executed by Col. Francis J. Thomas, or by his direction, while on the mission to Virginia. The addressee of the first letter, Lt. Col. Morris A. Moore, was apparently named Acting Adjutant General of the Maryland Forces, although a member of the staff of Governor Francis W. Pickens, of South Carolina.]

Norfolk. Va. April 30^h 1861

Lieut. Col. Morris A. Moore

A. D. C. to His Excellency

Governor Pickens, & A. A. A. G. M^d Forces

Colonel.

I have deemed it prudent to transport overland, *via* Strasbourg and Winchester, certain pieces of heavy ordnance from the Virginia Navy

⁴ George P. Kane, Marshal of Police of Baltimore, who acted under orders of the Board of Police. Imprisoned in Fort McHenry and later in Fort Warren, 1861-1862. He was Mayor of Baltimore 1877-1878.

Yard, together with, perhaps, some shot & shell, and any small arms that may be furnished me by the Governors of North & South Carolina, and avail myself of your volunteered services in my Department to entrust the discharge of this delicate and important duty, to your personal supervision— M. Solomon Cherry, of this City is assigned to duty, to assist you, and will personally accompany the arms—

I wish it to be given out, as a measure of precaution, that these arms are destined for Harper's Ferry and the Valley of Virginia. Making no public allusion to their ultimate destination.

The programme I sketch out, after full consultation and advice, with His Excellency, Governor Letcher, subject to such minor modifications as you may find necessary, is as follows—

Mr. Marshall Parks, the President of the Chesapeake & Albemarle Canal Co. of Norfolk, will furnish the valuable aid of the tow-boats and barges of his company to move the ordnance, and such shot and shells as can be spared, from the Navy Yard, to this point, where they will be loaded in cars of the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad, and transported to Richmond, *via* the Junction of the Danville Railroad, thence over the Virginia Central Railroad and its connections, via Staunton, to Strasbourg, thence, by eighteen miles of land carriage, over a good turnpike road, to Winchester, where they will be again loaded, on board cars of the Winchester and Potomac Company, to the ultimate destination, which will be communicated to you at that point.

At Staunton, you will put yourself in communication with Col. M. G. Harmon, Asst. Quarter Master General, who has received his instructions from the proper authority, and who will provide the transportation from Strasbourg to Winchester. From Winchester, you will communicate with me, in Baltimore, through Col. Jackson,⁵ or other officer, commanding the Virginia Forces at Harper's Ferry, to assure yourself that telegraphic communication with Baltimore is unobstructed. *You will not move the arms beyond Winchester until specially instructed.*

Should you find it necessary to visit Norfolk before starting (as you will travel one or two days in advance of the ordnance) you will report in person to Major General Gwynne, Comm^d of the Va. State Forces, whose experience and advice you will find useful, and you will always take such steps, in advance of the arrival of the guns, which will be, while *en route*, under the personal superintendence of Mr. Cherry, as will ensure their being forwarded from point to point, with the least possible delay.

Mr. Parks, and Mr. Fink, the Master of Transportation on the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad can give you valuable local and other information for your guidance as to various points of Railway Connection &c.

It is prudent to discourage all allusion to your charge and purposes, in the various local newspapers, and you should not permit any more persons than unavoidable, and they under similar injunctions of silence, to know that, in any contingency, these arms are destined for service out of the State of Virginia.

⁵ Later to be "Stonewall" Jackson.

At Richmond put yourself in communication, *direct*, with Mr. Joseph R. Anderson, of the Tredegar Iron Works, who has, or can command means, to tranship the guns, (should the connecting Street Railroad at that point not be finished in time), from one Railroad to the other—

I shall precede you to Baltimore, if possible, by Steamer hence, if not, by the line of route here sketched out for you— At all points where it is necessary, you will leave full memoranda of your arrangements for Mr. Cherry's guidance, and place them in safe hands to be promptly delivered to him.

You will exhibit these instructions to Governor Letcher, and request him to give you authority in writing, to use the telegraphic wires of the state, in furtherance of your mission—

Most of the Transportation will be supplied by Virginia— For special purposes, and personal expenses, you will draw, through me, or Marshal of Police, George P. Kane, for such funds as you may need, and submit your accounts on your arrival in Baltimore. Jos. R. Anderson Esq. at Richmond, or W^m L. Clarke Esq. at Winchester, can sell your drafts for you— As soon as consistent with the safe discharge of the important duties intrusted to you you will report in person

Very Respectfully

Fras. J. Thomas

Col & Adj Gen.

\$40 Richmond April 27 1861

At sight Pay to the order of J. R. Anderson & Co

Forty - - - - - Dollars

Value recd & charge the same to account of the

To Geo P Kane

City of Baltimore

Marshall Police

Frs J Thomas

Balto Md

Col & Adj Genl

on Special Service

[Copies of other drafts on Marshal Kane for funds in connection with the shipment of arms, included among the papers, are similar in form. The payees, places and dates of these, together with the amounts (already stated in Col. Thomas's letter of May 5) are as follows:

April 27, Richmond, to J. R. Anderson & Co.....	\$ 65
April 27, Norfolk, to Solomon Cherry.....	150
May 2, Staunton to M. G. Harman, Q. M. G. of Virginia.....	500
May 2, Staunton to M. G. Harman, Q. M. G. of Virginia.....	250
May 2, Staunton, to M. G. Harman, Q. M. G. of Virginia....	500]

Recd. of Col. Francis J. Thomas his check on the Marshal of Police of the City of Baltimore for One hundred & fifty dollars—it being for the purpose of paying my expenses as well as incidental expenses in the transportation of ordnance [*sic*] &c from this city to Winchester

Solomon Cherry
Norfo Apl 30/61

Memorandum of ordnance, Ordnance Stores &c. to be turned over to Lieut. Col. Moore, and Mr. Cherry— viz.

(20) Twenty,	XXXII pdr. guns
(24) Twenty four	XXIV pdr. do
(5) Five	VIII Inch Shell guns (Columbiads)
	XXXII pd. Shot

Possibly some VIII Inch shells, & XXIV shot.

(1) One Box, containing Figure head of Ship Pennsylvania.

Samples. of gun-wafers, (possibly a considerable number of them)
Three cannon locks

	<i>Fras. J. Thomas</i>
Norfolk	Col. & Adj. Genl.
April 30 ^h 1861	Maryland Vol. Forces
(Make four copies)	

Richmond, May 1st 1861

Received of Col. F. J. Thomas his draft on Marshal Geo. P. Kane of Baltimore for One hundred dollars, to pay my personal and other necessary expenses in transporting forty nine pieces of heavy ordnance &c from Norfolk to Baltimore overland
\$100

Wm. J. Gayer

[Memorandum endorsed on back:] Fuse

Send, in a Barrel or two of fish, or something of that kind, directed to T. J. Francis, *Knoxville, Md*, some slow match, for linstock, port fire, & quick match.

\$2000 in 5 drafts

Staunton Va—

May 2^d 1861

Received of Col. Francis J. Thomas, his draft as Adjutant General of the Baltimore Division of Maryland Volunteer Forces. On Marshal of Police Geo. P. Kane of Baltimore for, \$500⁰⁰/₀₀, \$500⁰⁰/₀₀, \$500⁰⁰/₀₀, \$250⁰⁰/₀₀,

\$250⁰⁰/₀₀, in all Two Thousand dollars, to be expended in the transportation of ordnance and ordnance stores belonging to the City of Baltimore, and to be accounted for through Col. Thomas.

M. G Harman

Quarter Master

[Endorsed:] Col. Thomas Accounts

Mayor & City of Baltimore in account with Francis I. Thomas—Col & Adjutant General, in the forces lately called out under General I. R. Trimble for the defence and protection of the City, while employed on a special service

To payment	S Cherry	Vou n-1	150 00	Apl 24	By Cash of Actt Mayor	150 00
" do	W I Guzer	" " 2	100 00	" " "	do 2 dfts I R Anderson	
" do	Col Harman	" " 3	2000 00	" " "	dft for S Cherry	150 00
" do	Lt Col Farrish	" " 4	250 00	May 1	" " "	Mayor Guzer
" sundry payments by myself and personal expenses (see supplementary report with sub-vouchers & certificates)			138 75	" 2 " 4 " "	Col Harman	
					Quarter Master Gen of Va	2000 00
						<hr/> 2505 00
			<hr/> 2638 75			

General

Above, please find an account of my expenditures &c during my recent special service. I refer you to my report for particulars— I would state that a portion of this sum as drawn for by me will not be expended. A special report will be made me with vouchers by the officers of Virginia when I shall make a supplementary report of all matters.

The above shows an apparent small credit to me which does not really exist and will be rectified in my supplementary report

Very Respectfully

Your Obt Serv^t

Fras. J. Thomas

A. G. Ununiformed Volunteers

Baltimore

May 9-1861

[Here end the papers of the Virginia mission. The documents from here on are in chronological order.]

Office Board of Police,

Baltimore, May 6th 1861

Dear Sir

I have to request that the entire force which was organized for the defence of the City in the recent Emergency be disbanded as soon as possible. It is very important that the City should return in every respect and as soon as possible to its former condition. The arms should be delivered to the Marshal of Police

Respectfully

Geo Wm Brown

Col. Isaac R. Trimble
Baltimore

Office Board of Police

Balt^o May 6th 1861

Col. I. R. Trimble

Sir.— The Board of Police request the foregoing views of the Mayor be carried out; and you will please act in accordance with them.

Respectf^{ly} & c

By order of the Board

Charles Howard

Prest

Genl. Order

The Board of Police believing that the immediate and pressing danger to the safety of the city, has in a great measure if not altogether passed away, has thought proper to disband the volunteer forces of the city.

They will accordingly be discharged from service and their arms returned to the Marshal of Police. Those men who have hitherto and who may hereafter, by their good conduct and soldierlike behaviour deserve the favourable notice of the city authorities will receive a preference, when the state of Maryland reorganises the militia of the state and calls for volunteers—

The Board of Police desire to express to the officers & men, their warm acknowledgement & thanks, for for the readiness with which they came forward for the preservation of order, and for the defence and protection of our beautiful & halowed city—

I beg to return my own thanks to the officers & men, for their good conduct, and for the respect shown their superior officers, and should any further difficulties call us together, I hope our future intercourse may be as agreeable as the past—

I request in returning to your homes, that you will set a good example of peacable and orderly behaviour to all your fellow citizens—

I. R. Trimble

Received of I. R. Trimble

One hundred Dollars on account of Expenses incurred while on duty in Balt and Virginia to procure arms for Baltimore

Fras. J. Thomas

Balto May 8th 1861—A. G. to Gen. Trimble, Commd

[Incomplete draft in handwriting of Trimble]

Balto May 8th 1861

To

Geo. Wm. Brown

Mayor of Balto.

Dear Sir,

At your request I report the following statement of circumstances connected with the assembling of volunteer bodies of men who offered their services for the defence and protection of the city— So far as I was connected with their organization & command—

On the 21 of April the Board of Police, handed me a written communication, requesting me to take command of the associations who offered them selves in defence of the city, in the following words—

Here insert letter of the Board Apl 21. I accepted this offer; and instructed all persons, chiefly captains " who wished to aid in protecting the city and in preserving peace & order, and who would hold themselves strictly subject to the orders of the Police Board or me as its representative, to get a room to meet in, appoint their own officers, and drill the men, whom they chose to select, and at the proper time arms would be placed in their hands—

The Battalion of men were marched to Calvert Station on the 21st April to whom arms had been distributed from the Marshals office, and this body were [?] kept under orders day & night untill the 4th April— [May].

On the 21st April the Board of Police directed me to "dismiss the various bodies under my (your) command for refreshments, and with order to assemble again at 7 in the evening—

On the 22^d April. The Board of Police sent me the following order—

Here insert the letter—

The encouragement alluded was given to the associations and drills continued, and arms promised as soon as they could be procured—

On the 26th April, the following directions were given by the Board of Police—and was complied with—

On the 27th April, the following directions were ordered by the Board of Police— See letter of 27th April

In furtherance of this order, I simply directed the different bodies to hold themselves in readiness at a call, and that all persons might attend to their own avocations during the day & meet at their quarters at night—

On the 2^d May, the following letter was received from the Board of Police—

Insert letter of May 2^d

as therein directed, measures were taken to disband the force at the Calvert Station, and have the arms returned— This was done without any disturbance on Saturday morning and the men paid off at 33 cents each deducting the shirts [?] & caps at 1.62½ which left the men about \$3 each for two weeks service— Thanks of the Board of Police were tendered to all the men for their readiness in in coming forward for the defense of the city & the preservation of order.

On the 6th May the following letter was recd from the Mayor of the city—and the Board of Police—

May 6th

Col. I. R. Trimble

Dr Sir—

I have to request that the entire force which was organized for the defence of the city in the recent emergency be disbanded as soon as possible—

It is very important that the city should return in every respect and as soon as possible to its former condition— The arms should be delivered to the Marshall of Police

Respectfully

Geo. W. Brown

The Board of Police request the foregoing views of the Mayor be carried out you will please act in accordance with them. Respectfully

By order of the Board

Charles Howard

Prest.—

In accordance with this request, the following order was issued to the various associations

It is proper to remark that some of the captains of these organizations asked me a few days after the 22^d April, if the men would be paid, to which I replied that they would not, as they were considered simply as good citizens turning out for the protection of the city, and the Preservation of order, and that the Board of Police, did not consider them as acting under pay but if they were called out in active service, I presumed they would be paid—

Since the disbanding, many of the companies claim pay, and say they understood they were to be paid, and ought to be paid—

I think many persons took up this idea of pay, without suggestion from any one, based upon the broad terms of the act of the council, appropriating money for the "complete defence of the city"

It also seems that prominent citizens, expressed to many of these associations, the opinion that they were entitled to pay—

From these causes, and particularly from the fact of paying the men at Calvert Station, who were held under arms night & day, by order of the Board of Police, and not allowed to leave the Depot has arisen the expectation of pay on the part of many of the companies—

I will here conclude, by expressing the opinion, that the organization of these associations, and turning the popular excitement into this channel, giving a large & excited populace the idea that they were acting as it were, officially as a police force, to defend the city and preserve order, has prevented many tumults, preserved private property, often threatened, and during the excitement, inspired confidence in the minds of the citizens generally, that the city *could be* preserved, from internal disorder & riot, and from the attack of disorderly assailants from without—

This much good has been done by these associations, and we may congratulate ourselves that the late excitement, *more intense* than has ever been known in the history of any city in the country, has passed away, with so little loss of life, and property, and so little internal violence—

If under all the circumstances good reason can be found to make a moderate compensation to some of these volunteer associations, whose motives were patriotic & public spirited & who undoubtedly sacrificed their time etc in many instances their employment for the benefit of the city & its property, I think it would be sound policy to do so—would it not be better to err on the safe side, and secure good will and content, at so little comparative cost.

Is it wise to weigh the value of dollars & cents against a sense of injustice (as these associations will consider it) and a smouldering discontent in our city among class of our population, who must always be looked to for its defence in emergencies of danger; and with the din of warlike preparations all around us, none can tell when this danger will come, with the shock of hostile armies, upon our city—

I am respectfully—

Your obt sert

I. R. Trimble

Mayors Office

Baltimore May 11th 1861

Dear Sir

The Board of Police as well as myself were taken entirely by surprise by the information that the men who volunteered their services to protect

the city in the late crisis expected compensation from the City. No such claim was made until they were about to be disbanded.

But as such expectation seems to be generally entertained, I have, in consultation with the Board and in view of all the circumstances, consented to appropriate a sum not exceeding \$3200. as sufficient compensation. This sum to be paid to the captains of the several companies or their authorized agent, to be distributed to the men claiming compensation, in proportion to the returns of force, upon your requisition upon the Quarter Master, but it must be with the distinct understanding that no further claim shall be made and that only such an amount is to be paid, as on a fair estimate of the number of men and service performed will reasonably suffice.

The Board of Police and myself distinctly declare and desire to be so understood, that they never authorized any one to hold out any promise or expectation of compensation, as you have properly said in your communication to me on this subject

Col Isaac R. Trimble
Baltimore

Very Respectfully
Geo. Wm. Brown

Balt^o May 13th 1861

Geo W^m Brown Esq.
Mayor

Dear Sir

Your communication of May 11th has been received in relation to the compensation of Associations who volunteered for the protection of the City

I concur in your views and will proceed to carry them out as expressed in your letter above referred to

From the best information I can obtain, which however is not and cannot be exact, I suppose about \$3200. will compensate those claiming pay. at the same rate as payments were made to the men at Calvert St Station—

Yours Respectfully
[In clerical hand, not signed]

Office Board of Police,
Baltimore

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It was understood by the Board of Police, that the different companies, came forward from public spirited motives, without solicitation, to protect the city—Nothing was said about pay; and the police never authorised any promise to be made—

But under all the circumstances, I advised that the men should be paid ⁶—and the Mayor has consented to do so as I have just read to you—I have heard it said that the aids & myself received pay—that is quite a mistake—we never *asked*, nor would we receive one dollar—as we felt bound to give our services to the city, without compensation—

I have been acting directly under the orders of the Police Board, and have no authority to do any thing on my own judgment—

The Mayor is alone responsible, and he has done, what he considers, fair & liberal— The captains of the companies, will now meet me in my office, to arrange about the payment.—

[Not signed but in Trimble's handwriting]

Office Board of Police,

Baltimore, May 13th 1861.

Col. I. R. Trimble—

D^r Sir./

The Mayor has asked what information I have, respecting some gun-carriages made or making by M^r Denmead.—

All that I know of the matter is, that some time since you stated to me M^r Denmead had volunteered to make carriages for some guns which had been placed at the disposal of the City.— My reply to you was, that the City would of course be glad to accept any aid, which Citizens might be willing to give to it in the emergency which existed; and that if M^r Denmead were willing to contribute to it's defence in the manner stated by you, his offer should of course be thankfully accepted.—

Be pleased to advise me if the above is not a correct statement of the only conversation I had with you on the subject—

M^r Gatchell advises me, that several days ago, he understood from you that the making of all carriages would be stopped—

Very Respectf^{ly}

Your's

Chas Howard

Prest—

May 13th 1861.

Chs Howard Esq

Prest—D^r Sir—

In reply to yours of this date, in relation to gun carriages made by M^r Denmead— I have to state, that on the 22 or 23 April, when measures were taken to protect the city, and the Mayor called on the citizens for arms, I found some pieces of cannon at the Police office and

⁶ The text originally read ". . . I advised a moderate sum to be distributed among the companies," and was revised in pencil.

suggested to the Board of Police, the propriety of having carriages made for them by Mr Denmead, in which the Board concurred— A day or two after I informed the Board that Mr Denmead was making the carriages—at the close of the week as he had the work nearly done, I told him to finish it—

The day after the Legislature met Mr Denmead proposed to secure further men to make some brass 6-pounders for the state and take his risk for Pay— This proposal I communicated to the Board of Police, who took no action on it, further than you state—

I afterwards saw Mr D. and advised him to await the state appropriation (then expected)

I. R. Trimble

[The following list appears among the papers. Apparently it covers the organized bodies under Colonel Trimble's command]

[Page 1]

Name of Corps or Command	Strength of Company or Command	Arms delivered or on hand	No. of Uniforms with Shirts	No. without arms	Remarks
Force at Calvert Stat ⁿ					Col Bliss
Col ⁿ . Bliss Comm ^s	379	379	200		command
Davis Rifles N ^o 1	131 93 good men			131	Capt W H. Quinzy
Tillard Guards	63	24		39	Capt Tillard
Howard Guards	50			50	D ^o E. Faxon
Liberty Guards	61	Clay St—		61	D ^o Capt Stiles
Maryland Line A	75			75	D ^o J O'Brien
Watson Rifles	50			50	D ^o J Mullan
Franklin Guards comp. f.	43	53-43			D ^o J J. B. Onion
City Hall Guards	80	order		80	Dr Graves
Central Avenue Guards	60			60	Capt Krine
Canton Light Infantry	56			56	D^o J J. B. Onion
Byrne Guards	61	75		61	R E Hasslett
Taylor buildings—					
Trimble Guard N ^o 1	42 95			42	Capt Wesserly
Maryland Rifles	44	15		44	D ^o T H. Holbrook
Buren & French St.					
Carroll Guards	43			43	" E J Chassty
Eastern House Guard	119	—on hand		119	J E Harvey
Mason Rifles	65	16		65	F. J. Gifford
Trimble Guards N ^o 2	52			52	W. F. Bragg
	1474	446	200	1028	

[Page 2]

Name of Corps or Command	Strength of Company or Command	Arms delivered or on hand	No. of Uniforms without Shirts	No. without arms	Remarks
Home Guard	63	60			Capt J. H. Waggoner
East. Av & Broadway					
Spurrier Guard	54		54		D ^o G. A. Freeburger
Eutaw Guard	74		74		D ^o Chs McDonald
Southern Guerilla Regt					
Comp. A. B. C & D.	113	20	93		Col Johnston
Maryland Duckers N ^o 1	67	their own arms			W. McDonald
Maryland Line C B	65	68			Capt Rhett
Davis Rifles N ^o 2	57		57		A. W. Allbaugh
Bush Rangers	44		44		W Derough
Dunfrees Rifles	64		64		J. W. Darley
15 Ward Guard	82		82		S. R. Dunnock
15 D ^o Home Guard	54		54		Th. J. Sumwalt
Guards	54		54		D. Kimbell
	2265	586	200	1604	
5 th Battalion A & B		78—	40		Capt Field
Maryland chasseurs		15 sabres			Capt Rogers
Madison Rifles		10			Capt Myers

PORTRAITS IN VARIED MEDIA IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

This handlist of portraits in varied media—wash, watercolour, gouache, pastel, black chalk, ink, pencil and charcoal drawings, silhouettes, overpainted engravings and photographs, sculpture in plaster, marble, stone, bronze and wax—succeeds a list of the miniatures and another of the portraits in oil in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society. It brings up to date handlists of the likenesses executed before 1900, in media exclusive of the graphic arts and photography, in both of which fields the Society's holdings are extensive.

The items vary in importance of biographical note and artistic merit: from individuals of prominence, to those whose likenesses are of value solely for the type of work in which they are recorded; from rare wash drawings, most of them in caricature, by Alexander Hamilton of Annapolis, and unusual watercolours by St. Memin to overpainted photographs and engravings such as were popular in the late 19th century.

As the list of miniatures opened, chronologically, with James I and that of the portraits in oil with Queen Henrietta Maria, this one also includes the royal consort from whom Maryland received her name. In various classifications the list of subjects brings momentary recognition again to forgotten and half-forgotten figures of the late 18th and 19th centuries. In the political field we might call attention to Judge Joseph Hopper Nicholson, Governor Charles Ridgely of "Hampton," Robert Goodloe Harper, Governor Thomas Holliday Hicks, William Vans Murray and Richard Henry Bayard. Among the possessors of great fortunes—merchants whose efforts placed Baltimore in a commanding position commercially in the post-revolutionary boom times—are

Solomon Etting, Robert Oliver, and Christian Mayer; later, in the mid-century Charles Mayer and Thomas deKay Winans. Prominent in the American literary, artistic, musical and social scene were Dr. Alexander Hamilton, Francis Hopkinson, Paul Allen, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte and her grandson, Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, Jr.; George H. Calvert of "Riverdale," John G. Morris, D. D., John P. Kennedy, Thomas S. Alexander, John Williamson Palmer, Otto Sutro, William Henry Rinehart, Daniel Coit Gilman, and Sidney Lanier.

Chronologically at the head of the list of American artists represented is a new name, that of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, of Maryland. Hamilton was a Scot who settled in Annapolis *circa* 1738-39 and is best remembered as author of an amusing "Itinerary" of travels in the middle and northern colonies in 1744, and as author and illustrator of the records and history of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis. His drawings, in the Hogarthian tradition, form a fascinating and untouched group in the annals of American art. Next in interest are small water-colours by St. Memin (painted seldom except in Maryland) and a bas-relief by another Frenchman working here, John Abraham Chevalier, architect and sculptor, a product of whose chisel is here for the first time listed.

I am indebted to Dr. Sarah Elizabeth Freeman of the Johns Hopkins University for providing the names of subjects of Hamilton drawings, given with pseudonym only in the Tuesday Club Record Book. In this list, as in the other handlists, Dr. J. Hall Pleasants has given much assistance, especially on obscure biographical details, for which I am duly grateful.

Following the main text is a list of artists represented with index of their works. This is followed by classified lists with names of subjects represented. The total includes 207 portraits, arranged alphabetically by name of subject, followed by biographical and descriptive notations. The measurements are given in inches and are sight; unless noted the paintings and drawings are rectangular.

1. THOMAS STOCKETT ALEXANDER (1801-1871)
 Lawyer of Annapolis, Baltimore and Newark, New Jersey; a leading Unionist. Author of *British Statutes in Force, Chancery Practice*, and other works.
 Pencil drawing (over photo?). $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Oval.
 By Daniel or David Bendann. Signed: *Bendann*.
 The Henry J. Berkley Collection. 34.12.3
2. PAUL ALLEN (1775-1826)
 Of Providence, Rhode Island, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Baltimore, Maryland. Editor of *Bronson's United States Gazette* of Philadelphia; *The Federal Republican and Baltimore Telegraph*, Baltimore *Saturday Evening Herald*, *Morning Chronicle* and *Morning Post*. In 1801 his "Original Poems, Serious and Entertaining" was published, in 1814 "A History of the Expedition Under Captains Lewis and Clarke"; a long poem, "Noah," was published in 1820. He was historian of the "Delphian Club" in minutes of which this drawing is bound.
 Wash drawing. $5\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$.
 Unattributed American.
 Bequest of Mrs. Mary W. Jordan.
3. LOUIS ASH (1821-1905)
 A native of Prussia who emigrated to America in 1838; he came to Baltimore in 1849; merchant of the firm of Moses Gutman & Co.
 Pastel. 30 x 25. Oval.
 By Oscar Hallwig.
 Gift of Mrs. Joseph H. Siegel. 44.51.1
4. MRS. LOUIS ASH (Emma Gutman) (1830-1911)
 Pastel. 30 x 25. Oval.
 By Oscar Hallwig. Signed: *O. Hallwig / '84*.
 Gift of Mrs. Joseph H. Siegel. 44.51.2
5. MRS. WILLIAM GEORGE BAKER (Margaret Armstrong)
 Painted after death, and posed as if asleep.
 Gouache. $8\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$.
 By Hans Heinrich Bebie.
 Gift of Miss Anna Melissa Graves. 45.25.1
6. RICHARD HENRY BAYARD (1796-1868)
 Of Delaware; United States Senator, 1836-39, 1840-45; first Mayor of Wilmington, Delaware, under the Charter of 1832; chargé d'affaires to Belgium, 1850-53.
 Plaster bust. H. 22.
 After Joseph Alexis Bailly. Signed: *Bailly / 1868*.
 Bequest of Miss Ellen Howard Bayard. 39.10.5

7. NAPOLEON III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte) (1808-1873)
Emperor of the French.
Bronze bust. H. 16.
By Henri Frederic Iselin. Signed: *ISELIN / PARIS 1858*.
The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.47.
8. CHARLES MARIE BONAPARTE (1746-1785)
Father of Napoleon I.
Marble bust. H. 30.
Unattributed European.
The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.84.
9. MADAME JEROME BONAPARTE (Elizabeth Patterson) (1785-1879)
Daughter of William Patterson of Baltimore. Married in Baltimore
in 1803 to the youngest brother of Napoleon. When the couple
arrived in Europe the Emperor refused to let Madame Bonaparte
land and later had the union annulled.
Pastel. $17\frac{1}{2} \times 23\frac{1}{4}$. Oval.
By Georges D'Almaine, after Gilbert Stuart's triple portrait.
Signed: *D'Almaine 1856*.
The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.78.
10. MADAME JEROME BONAPARTE (Elizabeth Patterson) (1785-1879)
See above.
Silhouette. H. $2\frac{5}{8}$.
Unknown artist.
Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.79a-c
11. MRS. JEROME NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (Susan May Williams)
(1812-1881)
Pastel. $22 \times 16\frac{3}{4}$. Oval.
By Georges D'Almaine. Signed: *D'Almaine 1856*.
The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.76
12. JEROME NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, JR. (1832-1893)
Son of Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte and grandson of Jerome Bona-
parte and Elizabeth Patterson. Graduated from the United States
Military Academy, 1852; served in the United States Army and
in the Army of the Second Empire.
Pastel. 23×18 . Oval.
By Georges D'Almaine. Signed: *D'Almaine 1856*.
The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.74.
13. LAETITIA BONAPARTE ("Madame Mère") (1750-1836)
Mother of Napoleon I and Jerome Bonaparte.
Marble head. H. 29.
By Pompeo Marchesi after Canova. Signed: *P Marche . . .*
The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.83

14. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821)
Emperor of the French.
Marble bust. H. 34.
By Henri Frederic Iselin after Charles Louis Corbet. Signed:
*Le Genl. Bonaparte / en l'an 8 par corbet / au Caire / en
marbre par Iselin / Paris., 1859.*
The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.49
15. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821)
See above.
Plaster figurine. H. 11.
Artist: Vincenzo Vela. Signed: *V Vela F. 1867.*
The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.86
16. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821)
See above.
Marble bust. H. 21.
Unattributed.
The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.88
17. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821)
See above.
Bronze high relief. D. 6.
After Jacques Louis David.
The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.82
18. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821)
See above.
Marble bust. H. 17½
Unattributed
The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.85.
19. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821)
See above.
Cameo incrustation, glass.
By Apsley Pellatt, c. 1851.
The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.259
20. THE PRINCE IMPERIAL (NAPOLEON EUGENE LOUIS JEAN JOSEPH
BONAPARTE) (1856-1879)
Son of Napoleon III.
Bronze statuette. H. 26.
By Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux. Signed: *J. B. CARPEAUX /
TUILERIES 1865.*
The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.48

21. THE PRINCE IMPERIAL (NAPOLEON EUGENE LOUIS JEAN JOSEPH BONAPARTE) (1856-1879)

See above.

Bas relief in "Bois Darci." D. $4\frac{3}{8}$.

Unattributed French.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.87

22. PRINCE NAPOLEON (Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte) (1822-1891)

Called "Plon-Plon"; second son of Jerome, King of Westphalia. He was a prominent liberal and held numerous positions under Napoleon III.

Bronze bust. H. $15\frac{1}{2}$.

By Henri Frederic Iselin. Signed: *ISELIN / PARIS 1858*.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. XX.5.46.

23. JUNIUS BRUTUS BOOTH (?) (1796-1852)

English actor who first appeared in America in 1821. He owned a farm in Harford County, Maryland.

Pencil drawing. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$.

By John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe.

Gift of Latrobe Cogswell. 45.105.34

24. JOHN BEALE BORDLEY (1727-1804)

Of Wye Island, Annapolis, and Philadelphia; Prothonotary of Baltimore County, 1753; Judge of the Provincial Court, 1766; Judge of Admiralty, 1767; one of the Commissioners on the Boundary between Delaware and Maryland, 1768; member of the Governor's Council under Sharpe and Eden; a lawyer educated in London; a scientific planter, he was active in forming the "Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture," 1785; author of "A Summary View of the Courses of Crops in the Husbandry of England and Maryland," 1784, "Sketches of Rotations of Crops and Other Rural Matters," 1798, "Essays and Notes on Husbandry and Rural Affairs," 1799, "Money, Coins, Weights and Measures" 1789. Member of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis; his club name was "Quipum Comic."

Wash drawing. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$.

By Alexander Hamilton.

The Tuesday Club Record Book. Gift of James Carroll.

25. JOHN BEALE BORDLEY (1727-1804)

See above.

Wash drawing. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$

By Alexander Hamilton.

Dulany Papers. Gift of Mrs. Daniel B. Ridgely and De-Courcy W. Thom.

26. PRINCE CAMILLO BORGHESI (d. 1832)
Husband of Marie Pauline Bonaparte.
Marble bust. H. 22.
Unattributed European.
Gift of S. Prescott Hall. 29.9.1
27. ELIZABETH BUCHANAN (1802-1825)
Silhouette. H. $2\frac{3}{4}$.
Unattributed American.
The Redwood Manuscript Collection.
28. GEORGE BUCHANAN, M.D. (1763-1808)
Of "Druid Hill," Baltimore, Maryland, and Philadelphia, Pa. A graduate of the University of Pennsylvania; one of the founders of the Medical & Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland.
Silhouette. H. $2\frac{3}{4}$.
Cut at Peale's Museum. Stamped: MUSEUM.
The Redwood Collection. XX.4.200
29. LAETITIA BUCHANAN (b. 1806)
Silhouette. H. $2\frac{3}{4}$.
Unattributed American.
The Redwood Manuscript Collection.
30. JOHN BULLEN (d. 1764)
Commissioner of the Paper Currency Office; Alderman of Annapolis; Commissioner of the Peace for Anne Arundel County; Captain of the City Independent Company of Annapolis. Member of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis; his club names were "Captain Blunt" and "Sir John Oldcastle."
Wash drawing. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$.
By Alexander Hamilton.
The Tuesday Club Record Book. Gift of James Carroll.
31. CORNELIUS CALVERT
Inscribed "My travelling Companion / Cornelius Calvert Esqr. a / rich merchant of Norfolk." Bound in Latrobe Journal.
Ink on paper. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$.
By Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1798.
Gift of Raphael Semmes.
32. GEORGE HENRY CALVERT, of "Riverdale" (1803-1889)
Of Baltimore and Newport; grandson of Benedict Swingate Calvert, natural son of Charles, 5th Lord Baltimore. Editor of the *Baltimore American*, c. 1832-36; poet, dramatist, critic.
Black chalk on paper. $23\frac{3}{4} \times 18\frac{1}{2}$.
By Samuel Lawrence. Signed: *Samuel Lawrence / Delt 1853*.
Gift of Mrs. William M. Ellicott. 28.4.1

33. CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON (1737-1832)
Statesman, planter, last surviving "Signer" of the Declaration of Independence; delegate to the Maryland Revolutionary Convention, 1775; member of the Continental Congress, 1776 and 1778; Commissioner to Canada, 1776; United States Senator, 1789-1792.
Black chalk on paper. $20\frac{1}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$.
By C. B. Fevret de St. Memin.
Gift of Dr. Clapham Pennington in memory of Emily L. and Emily L. H. Harper. 26.8.1
34. CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON (1737-1832)
See above.
High relief. H. 6.
Gift of Miss Ethel Miller. 40.22.1
35. HENRY CLAY (1777-1852)
Of Virginia and Kentucky. Congressman, Senator and Secretary of State under John Quincy Adams.
Plaster bust. H. 32.
By Shobal V. Clevenger.
Gift of Osmond Tiffany. 1891.3.1
36. HENRY CLAY (1777-1852)
See above.
Plaster bust. H. 32.
By Joel Tanner Hart.
Gift of Christopher Hughes. 1847.1.1
37. HENRY CLAY (1777-1852)
See above.
Plaster bas-relief. 12 x 10.
By Thomas D. Jones. Signed: *T. D. Jones Sculptor 1851 / 300 Broadway N. York / Copy Right secured.*
Gift of Daniel Ullman and others. 1853.4.1
38. HENRY CLAY (1777-1852)
See above.
Plaster bas-relief. 12 x 10.
By Thomas D. Jones. Signed: *T. D. Jones Sculptor 1851 / 300 Broadway N. York / Copy Right secured.*
Gift of Dr. Louis W. Knight. 17.8.1
39. HENRY CLAY (1777-1852)
See above.
Plaster bas-relief. 12 x 10.
By Thomas D. Jones. Signed: *T. D. Jones Sculptor 1851 / 300 Broadway N. York / Copy Right secured.*
Provenance not established.

40. ANNA LAETITIA COALE (Mrs. John C. Brune) (1817-1856)
Of Baltimore.
Silhouette. H. $2\frac{1}{2}$.
By Master Hanks. Stamped: *Gallery of Cuttings / cut by / Master Hanks / With Scissors.*
The Redwood Collection. XX.4.206
41. ANNA MARIA COALE (1779-1813)
Of Baltimore and Anne Arundel County.
Water color cut out and mounted on silk. H. $2\frac{1}{2}$ x 2.
By C. B. Fevret de St. Memin.
The Redwood Collection. XX.4.232.
42. ANNA MARIA COALE (1779-1813)
See above.
Silhouette. H. 3.
Unattributed.
The Redwood Collection. XX.4.204.
43. ANNA MARIA COALE (1779-1813)
See above.
Silhouette. H. $3\frac{1}{4}$.
Unattributed.
The Redwood Manuscript Collection.
44. EDWARD JOHNSON COALE (1776-1832)
Baltimore and Washington lawyer, publisher and bookseller.
Silhouette. H. $10\frac{1}{2}$.
By William James Hubard.
The Redwood Collection. XX.4.209.
45. EDWARD JOHNSON COALE (1776-1832)
See above.
Silhouette. H. $2\frac{7}{8}$.
Unattributed American.
The Redwood Manuscript Collection.
46. EDWARD JOHNSON COALE (1776-1832)
See above.
Silhouette. H. $2\frac{7}{8}$.
By William James Hubard.
The Redwood Manuscript Collection.
47. EDWARD JOHNSON COALE (1776-1832).
See above.
Silhouette. H. $2\frac{3}{4}$.
Cut at Peale's Museum. Stamped: MUSEUM.
The Redwood Collection. XX.4.210

48. EDWARD JOHNSON COALE (1776-1832)
 See above.
 Black chalk on paper. 20 x 15.
 By C. B. Fevret de St. Memin.
 The Redwood Collection. XX.4.220

49. EDWARD JOHNSON COALE (1776-1832)
 See above.
 Gouache over St. Memin engraving. $3\frac{1}{8}$ x $2\frac{1}{4}$.
 By C. B. Fevret de St. Memin.
 The Redwood Collection. XX.4.192

50. MRS. EDWARD JOHNSON COALE (Mary Ann Buchanan) (1792-1866)
 Silhouette. H. $2\frac{3}{4}$.
 Unattributed American.
 The Redwood Manuscript Collection.

51. ELIZA SOPHIA COALE (Mrs. John Greene Proud) (1785-1838)
 Of Baltimore and "Morven," Anne Arundel County.
 Watercolor. $6\frac{5}{8}$ x $5\frac{3}{4}$.
 By C. B. Fevret de St. Memin. Signed: *St. Mn. Ft.*
 The Redwood Collection. XX.4.214

52. GEORGE BUCHANAN COALE (1819-1887)
 Silhouette. H. $10\frac{1}{2}$.
 By Augustus Edouart. Signed: *Aug Edouart. fecit 1840*
 The Redwood Collection. XX.4.211

53. GEORGE BUCHANAN COALE (1819-1887)
 Silhouette. H. 4.
 Attributed to Augustus Edouart.
 The Redwood Collection. XX.4.208

54. MARY ABIGAIL WILLING COALE (Mrs. William Tower Proud) (1789-1831)
 Of Baltimore.
 Watercolor. $5\frac{3}{4}$ x $4\frac{3}{4}$.
 By C. B. Fevret de St. Memin. Signed: *St. Memin fecit.*
 The Redwood Collection. XX.4.213.

55. MRS. SAMUEL STRINGER COALE (Anne Hopkinson) (1745-1817)
 Of Baltimore.
 Silhouette. H. 3.
 Unattributed American.
 The Redwood Collection. XX.4.203

56. MRS. SAMUEL STRINGER COALE (Anne Hopkinson) (1745-1817)
Of Baltimore.
Silhouette. H. 3.
Unattributed American.
The Redwood Manuscript Collection.
57. ANNA MARIA COHEN (Mrs. Abram Minis) (1863-1891)
Of Baltimore and Savannah, Georgia.
Pastel. 12 x 9½.
Unattributed American (over a photograph?)
Gift of Mrs. Arnold Burges Johnson. 45.88.1
58. MRS. BENJAMIN I. COHEN (Kitty Etting) (1799-1837)
Ink on paper. 6½ x 4¼.
Unattributed American.
The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 18.6.42.
59. CHARLES COLE (d. 1757)
Wealthy merchant of Annapolis. Perpetual President and Chairman of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis. His Club name was "Nasifer Jole."
Wash drawing. 8 x 5¾.
By Alexander Hamilton.
The Tuesday Club Record Book. Gift of James Carroll.
60. ROSWELL LYMAN COLT, JR.
Of Baltimore and New York.
Watercolor. 11½ x 9.
Attributed to Numa Blanc.
The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.39
61. WILLIAM CUMMINGS.
Of Annapolis. A Scot, a companion of George Nielson who was among those prisoners sent to Maryland in 1716 for having participated in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715. Cummings had been a member of the Privy Council of the Red House Club of Annapolis and with Alexander Hamilton, William Marsh and John Gordon formed the Tuesday Club from survivors of the Ugly Club, one of those societies descended from the Royalist Club of Annapolis founded by George Nielson. See notes under George Nielson and Alexander Hamilton. Cummings' club name was "Jealous Spyplot."
Wash drawing. 6 x 5¾.
By Alexander Hamilton.
The Tuesday Club Record Book. Gift of James Carroll.

62. JOHN W. D. DORSEY (1750-1821)
Of "Pleasant Fields," near Liberty Town, Maryland.
Silhouette cut in 1808. H. $3\frac{1}{4}$.
Unattributed American, perhaps by George Todd.
Gift of Miss Gertrude Morris. 46.17.1
63. RICHARD DORSEY (1714-1760)
Of "Hockley," Anne Arundel County, and Annapolis; Magistrate and Clerk of the Paper Currency Office; member of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, his club name was "Gunbelly Bowzer."
Wash drawing. $5\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$.
By Alexander Hamilton.
The Tuesday Club Record Book. Gift of James Carroll.
64. WALTER DULANY (d. 1773)
Of Annapolis; member of the Governor's Council; member of St. Anne's Vestry, Annapolis; commissioned Naval Officer of the Patuxent, 1765; Commissary General of the Province, 1765; Judge for the Probate of Wills, 1767. Walter Dulany's altercations with the Reverend Bennet Allen formed a turbulent chapter in Maryland Church history. A member of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, his club name was "Slyboots Pleasant."
Wash drawing. $5\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$.
By Alexander Hamilton.
The Tuesday Club Record Book. Gift of James Carroll.
65. MRS. GRAFTON DUVAL (Elizabeth Whitaker Hawkins) (1785-1831)
Of "Merryland Tract," Frederick County.
Silhouette. H. 3.
By William James Hubbard. Stamped: *Cut with SCISSORS / BY / MASTER HUBARD / Without / Drawing or / Machine.*
The Redwood Collection. XX.4.202
66. AUGUSTUS EDOUART (1788-1861)
Self portrait of the noted French silhouettist, working in America, 1839-49.
Silhouette. H. $10\frac{1}{2}$.
By Augustus Edouart. Signed: *Augn. Edouart fecit / 1840* [and] *Augn Edouart.*
The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 18.6.23
67. BERNARD GRATZ ETTING (1806-18—)
Silhouette. H. $10\frac{1}{2}$.
By Augustus Edouart. Signed: *Augn Edouart fecit 1840 / . . . South St.*
The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 18.6.26

68. MRS. ELIJAH ETTING (Shinah Solomon) (1744-1822)
 Silhouette. H. 3.
 Unattributed American.
 The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 18.6.28
69. FANNY ETTING (Mrs. Robert Taylor) (1764-1828)
 Silhouette. H. $2\frac{1}{2}$.
 Unattributed American.
 The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 18.6.27
70. RICHA GRATZ ETTING (1792-1881)
 Wash drawing. $4\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$. Oval.
 By Thomas Gimbrede. Signed: *T. Gimbrede*.
 The Redwood Collection. 27.7.1
71. SOLOMON ETTING (1764-1847)
 Merchant of York and Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and Baltimore, Maryland. He had some interest in Robert Fulton's steam war vessels scheme. President of the First Branch of the Baltimore City Council, an incorporator of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and one of the first Jews to hold office in Maryland.
 Wash drawing. $4\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$. Oval.
 By Thomas Gimbrede. Signed: *T. Gimbrede*.
 The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 38.7.99
72. SOLOMON ETTING (1764-1847)
 See above.
 Silhouette. H. $9\frac{1}{2}$.
 By Augustus Edouart. Signed: *Augn Edouart fecit / 1840*.
 The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 18.6.25
73. SOLOMON ETTING (1764-1847)
 See above.
 Silhouette. H. $11\frac{1}{4}$.
 By Master Hanks. Stamped: *Gallery of Cuttings / Cut by / MASTER HANKES / With Scissors*.
 The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 18.6.24
74. MRS. SOLOMON ETTING (Rachel Gratz) (1764-1831)
 Of Philadelphia and Baltimore.
 Wash drawing. $4\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$. Oval.
 By Thomas Gimbrede. Signed: *T. Gimbrede*.
 The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 38.7.100

75. MILLARD FILLMORE (1800-1874)
Of New York; thirteenth President of the United States.
Plaster bust. H. 32.
By Edward S. Bartholomew.
Gift of Samuel K. George. 1857.5.1
76. MRS. THOMAS MARSH FORMAN (Martha Brown Ogle) (1788-1864)
Pastel. 8 x 6. Oval.
By James Sharples.
Gift of Miss Mary Forman Day. 45.94.1
77. MRS. WILLIAM FELL GILES (Catherine Donaldson) (1816-1874)
Pastel (Overpainted photo?). 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{5}{8}$. Oval.
Unattributed American.
Gift of Mrs. Alfred Baker Giles. 14.4.2
78. DANIEL COIT GILMAN (1831-1908)
Educator, author and publicist; professor at Yale, president of the University of California; first president of Johns Hopkins University, 1875-1902; attaché at St. Petersburg, 1853-55; first president of the Carnegie Institution.
Ink drawing. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6.
By Adalbert John Volck. Signed in monogram: *AJV* 89
Gift of Mrs. F. H. Falkinburg.
79. HARRY GILMOR (1838-1883)
Of Baltimore. One of the most daring cavalry officers, raiders and scouts of the Confederate army. After the war he resided in the South and in Europe. In 1866 he published *Four Years in the Saddle*. Later he was one of the Police Commissioners of Baltimore.
Wash drawing over photograph. 11 x 8.
By Georges D'Almaine. Signed: *D'Almaine* / 1862.
Gift of Mrs. Thomas G. Buchanan.
80. JONAS GREEN (1712-1767)
A native of Boston who settled in Annapolis c. 1737-38 and was public printer to the Province of Maryland. In 1745 he established the *Maryland Gazette* in which appeared the first dramatic criticisms to be issued in America; in 1765 he issued a handsome volume, Bacon's *Laws of Maryland*. He was postmaster for many years and at times alderman, secretary to the Masonic Lodge, clerk of entries at the Annapolis races, auctioneer, and vestryman

of St. Anne's Parish. He was master of ceremonies and poet laureate to the Tuesday Club of Annapolis; his club name was "Jonathan Grog."

Wash drawing. 5 x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$.

By Alexander Hamilton.

The Tuesday Club Record Book. Gift of James Carroll.

81. ALEXANDER HAMILTON, M. D. (1712-1756)

Physician and wit; a native of Scotland who emigrated to Annapolis c. 1738-39; contributor to the *Maryland Gazette*; he published *A Defense of Dr. Thomson's Discourse* in 1752, a pamphlet supporting inoculation. He is best remembered as the author of an *Itinerarium*, a journal of travels in the Middle and Northern Colonies in 1744. He was Master of Masons at Annapolis, 1750; Vestryman of St. Anne's Church, 1749-1752; one of the founders of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis and the author and illustrator of the Minutes. The organization is said to have ceased after his death. His club name was "Loquacious Scribble." See notes under William Cummings and George Nielson.

Wash drawing. 6 x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$.

By Alexander Hamilton.

The Tuesday Club Record Book. Gift of James Carroll.

82. ALEXANDER HAMILTON (1757-1804)

Of New York; distinguished Revolutionary officer; first Secretary of the United States Treasury.

Plaster head. H. 23.

After Giuseppe Ceracchi.

Gift of John H. Naff. 1869.1.1

83. MRS. HARBAUGH (Pamela Briscoe) (b. 1775)

Water color. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$. Oval.

Unattributed American.

Gift of Miss Flora Mae Baker. 35.7.2

84. WASHINGTON HARPER HARBAUGH (1806-1891)

Of Middletown, Maryland, and Piqua, Ohio.

Water color. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 2 $\frac{3}{4}$. Oval.

Unattributed American.

Gift of Miss Flora Mae Baker. 35.7.1

85. CHARLES CARROLL HARPER (1802-1837)

Of Baltimore; a graduate of Harvard, member of the Maryland Legislature, Secretary of Legation under William C. Rives in Paris;

active, as was his father, in the affairs of the American Colonization Society.

Marble Bust. H. 28.

Sculptor unknown.

Deposited by Clapman Pennington, M. D. 27.28.2

86. ROBERT GOODLOE HARPER (1765-1825)

Of South Carolina and Maryland. Distinguished lawyer and statesman who saw service in the Revolution and War of 1812; United States Senator, 1816-1821.

Black chalk on paper. $20\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$.

By C. B. Fevret de St. Memin.

Gift of Clapham Pennington, M. D., in memory of Emily L. and Emily L. H. Harper. 26.8.2

87. ROBERT GOODLOE HARPER (1765-1825)

See above.

Marble bust. H. 20.

By Raimondo Trentanove. Signed: *R. Trentanove, Fece / Roma 1819.*

Deposited by Dr. Clapham Pennington. 27.28.1

88. ROBERT GOODLOE HARPER (1765-1825)

See above.

Plaster bust. H. 20.

After Raimondo Trentanove. Signed: *R. Trentanove. Fece / Roma 1819.*

Gift of John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe. 1882.2.1

89. MISS HARRIS

Daughter of Dr. Chapin Harris, founder of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery.

Black chalk on paper. $32\frac{1}{4} \times 27$.

By Eastman Johnson. Signed.

Gift of Mrs. Charles E. Barrett-Lenhard. 35.30.1

90. HENRIETTA MARIA (1609-1669)

Consort of Charles I of England, who bestowed the name of Maryland in her honor.

Indenture 1660.

Ink on parchment. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$. Oval.

Land papers—England

91. THOMAS HOLLIDAY HICKS (1798-1865)

Member of Maryland Legislature, Governor of Maryland 1857-1861; United States Senator 1862-1865.

Plaster bust. H. 21.

After Henry Dexter.

Gift of Mrs. Anna Dexter Douglas. 1891.4.1

92. JACOB HINDMAN (?) (1789-1827)

Of Talbot County and Baltimore; captain in Second United States Artillery, 1812; major, 1813; brevetted lieutenant-colonel for service at Fort Erie, 1814; colonel, 1815; in 1824, as commandant at Fort McHenry, he received General the Marquis de Lafayette.

Pencil drawing. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$.

Unattributed American.

The Noel-Wyatt Collection. XX.1.15

93. JACOB HINDMAN (?) (1789-1827)

See above.

Water color. H. $6\frac{1}{4}$. Oval.

Unattributed American.

The Noel-Wyatt Collection. XX.1.16

94. FRANCIS HOPKINSON (1737-1791)

Of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey; statesman, poet and essayist, musician, amateur artist. He received the first degree granted at the College of Philadelphia (the University of Pennsylvania); represented New Jersey in the Continental Congress in 1775 and was a Signer of the Declaration of Independence; chief of the Continental Navy Board, 1776-1778; Treasurer of Loans, 1778-1781; Judge of the Admiralty for Pennsylvania, 1779-1789; Judge of the United States Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, 1790. In 1789 he was secretary of the Convention which organized the Protestant Episcopal Church in America.

Pastel. $22 \times 18\frac{1}{2}$.

By Francis Hopkinson after Robert Edge Pine.

The Redwood Collection. XX.4.198.

95. JAMES HOPKINSON (1769-1775)

Son of Francis Hopkinson.

Pastel. 17×13 .

By Francis Hopkinson.

The Redwood Collection. XX.4.197

96. ANDREW JACKSON (1767-1845)

Of South Carolina and Tennessee. "The hero of New Orleans," 1815; Seventh President of the United States, 1829-1837.

Plaster statuette. H. $25\frac{1}{2}$.

By Clark Mills. This model was a gift of the sculptor to Charles W. Buckingham, of Baltimore, uncle of the donor; probably one of few surviving plasters of the original model of the first equestrian statue made in America.

Gift of Mrs. Raymond Hughes. 45.30.1

97. "CRAZY JAKES"

A Negro character of Baltimore, brother of Frederick and Henry Jakes, well known caterers from the early 1840's to the 1870's.

Black chalk drawing. $22\frac{1}{2} \times 18$. Oval.

By Frank B. Mayer. Signed: *F. B. Mayer. fecit / 1853.*

Gift of Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser. 25.11.11

98. BECKY JAMES

Nurse of Rebecca Gratz.

Pencil drawing. D. $2\frac{1}{4}$.

Unattributed American.

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 18.6.100

99. THOMAS JENNINGS (d. 1759)

He emigrated to Maryland at the age of nineteen and returned to England to study law with James Best; he was chief clerk of the Land Office; a Justice for Anne Arundel County, 1746-1759; Attorney General of the Province. A member of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis; his club name was "Prim Timirous."

Wash drawing. $6\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$.

By Alexander Hamilton.

The Tuesday Club Record Book. Gift of James Carroll.

100. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON, M. D. (1822-1891)

Distinguished physician and author of medical works. Consulting surgeon at Johns Hopkins Hospital. Professor at the Medical College of the University of Maryland; President of the Maryland Academy of Sciences; President of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland 1876, 1877.

Plaster bust. H. 15.

Unattributed American.

Gift of Mrs. Christopher Johnston. 21.14.1

101. JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY (1795-1870)

Lawyer, author and statesman; President of the Board of The Peabody Institute. Author of *Swallow Barn* (1832), *Horseshoe*

Robinson (1835), *Memoir of the Life of William Wirt* (1842); member of the Maryland House of Delegates; member of Congress, 1835, 1840, 1842; it was largely through his interest that a fund was voted to test Morse's telegraph. Secretary of the Navy under President Fillmore, he organized Perry's expedition to Japan.

Plaster bust. H. 27½.

By Léonce Rabillon.

Gift of Léonce Rabillon. 1885.2.1

102. JOHN KNOX (c. 1505-1572)

Scottish reformer and historian.

Wash drawing after an engraving. 3½ x 3½.

By John Moale. Inscription: *John Knox / Drawn / by John Moale / when only 12 / years old*. Moale was the artist of the first view of Baltimore, 1752, owned by the Society.

Gift of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants. 45.11.1

103. GENERAL THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE (1757-1834)

Liberal and soldier.

Gilt Medallion. D. 2.

By Morel. Signed: *Morel F. 1825*.

The Noel-Wyatt Collection. XX.1.21.

104. SIDNEY LANIER (1842-1881)

Poet, musician, critic of Macon, Georgia, and Baltimore, Maryland.

Plaster bust. H. 25.

After Ephraim Keyser.

Gift of the New Mercantile Library Association. 03.2.1

105. BENJAMIN HENRY LATROBE (1766-1820)

Architect and engineer who emigrated from England in 1796. He worked in Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New Orleans and Washington where from 1803 to 1811 he was surveyor of Public Buildings.

Pastel. 10¼ x 8¼. Oval.

Unattributed. Woodback inscribed in ink: *For Chr. Ign. LaTrobe / The portrait of his affectionate Brother B. H. LaTrobe*.

Gift of Latrobe Cogswell. 45.105.1

106. FERDINAND CLAIBORNE LATROBE (1833-1911)

He served seven terms as Mayor of Baltimore; lawyer, President of the Consolidated Gas Company.

Pencil drawing. 5⅞ x 5¾.

By John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe. Inscription: *Ferd 1852 Sep.*

Gift of Raphael Semmes.

107. FERDINAND CLAIBORNE LATROBE (?) (1833-1911)
See above.
Pencil drawing. $5\frac{3}{4} \times 5$.
By John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe.
Gift of Raphael Semmes.
108. HENRY LATROBE (?) (died c. 1875)
Pencil drawing. $5\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$.
By John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe.
Gift of Raphael Semmes.
109. MRS. JOHN HAZLEHURST BONEVAL LATROBE (Charlotte Virginia Claiborne)
Pencil drawing. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$.
By John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe. Inscribed: *A VILE ATTEMPT AT MAMMA*.
Gift of Raphael Semmes.
110. JOHN HAZLEHURST BONEVAL LATROBE, JR. (1847-1882)
Pencil drawing. $5\frac{3}{4} \times 5$.
By John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe. Inscribed: *JOHNNY H. B. L. Jr. / 5 yrs. / 1852 Sep.*
Gift of Raphael Semmes.
111. LILLY (LYDIA?) LATROBE
Pencil drawing. $5 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$.
By John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe. Inscribed: *LILLY 18—MO.*
Gift of Raphael Semmes.
112. RICHARD STEUART LATROBE (1845-1900)
Pencil drawing. $5\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$.
By John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe. Inscribed: *Steuart—1852.*
Gift of Raphael Semmes.
113. MISS LATROBE
Daughter of John H. B. Latrobe.
Pencil drawing. $5\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$.
By John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe. Inscribed: *SEP. 52. SSS.*
Gift of Raphael Semmes.
114. BOY OF THE LATROBE FAMILY
Pencil drawing. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$.
By John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe.
Gift of Latrobe Cogswell. 45.105.36

115. BOY OF THE LATROBE FAMILY
Pencil drawing. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 6$.
By John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe.
Gift of Latrobe Cogswell. 45.105.38
116. JAMES LOGUE (1805-1872)
Marble bust. H. 22.
By Frederick Volck. Signed: *F. Volck*.
Deposited by Mrs. J. C. Winter. 38.9.1
117. JOHN LOMUS (d. 1757)
Warden of Masons in Annapolis, 1750; he died in Liverpool; he was a member of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis; his club name was "Laconic Comus."
Wash drawing. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$.
By Alexander Hamilton.
The Tuesday Club Record Book. Gift of James Carroll.
118. JOHN LOMUS (d. 1757)
See above.
Ink drawing. H. $2\frac{5}{8}$.
By Alexander Hamilton.
The Tuesday Club Record Book. Gift of James Carroll.
119. EDWARD CARRELL LUCAS (1811-1872)
Black chalk drawing. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$.
Unattributed European. Signature illegible. Signed: . . . / . . .
1843.
Gift of Miss Ethel White. 43.2.6
120. JAMES HOWARD MCHENRY (1820-1888)
Of "Sudbrook," Baltimore County; lawyer of Baltimore; portrayed in character of *Homer*.
Marble bas-relief. H. 28.
By Edward S. Bartholomew. Signed: *Bartholomew Fecit / Roma / 1852*.
Gift of Mrs. Florence Read Beaton. 31.8.1
121. ADELINE MCKEAN (Mrs. Charles Pettit Bayard) (1809-1886)
Silhouette. H. 3.
By George Todd. Stamped: *TODD'S PATENT*.
The Redwood Manuscript Collection.
122. THOMAS MCKEAN (1734-1817)
Of Delaware and Pennsylvania; member of the Delaware Assembly 1757, Speaker 1772; member of Congress from the Revolution

until the adoption of the Federal Constitution, 1790; Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, 1776-1799; Governor of Pennsylvania; President of Continental Congress; author of Constitution of Delaware; Governor of Delaware.

Wash drawing. 8 x 6½.

By Samuel B. Wetherald after Gilbert Stuart. Signed: *S. B. Wetherald Delt 1843.*

The Redwood Collection. XX.4.240

123. HASLETT MCKIM (1812-1891)

Merchant of Baltimore and New York; President of the Baltimore and Cuba Smelting and Mining Company.

Conchelia. Unattributed. H. 2.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 40.10.28a

124. HASLETT MCKIM (1812-1891)

See above.

Blue composition. Unattributed. H. 2.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 40.10.28b

125. HASLETT MCKIM (1812-1891)

See above.

Plaster. Unattributed. H. 2.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 40.10.28c

126. SUSAN MCKIM (1858-1914)

Silhouette. H. 4.

By Haslett McKim. Inscribed: *Susie McKim / taken by her brother Haslett.*

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.36

127. JOHN VAN LEAR MCMAHON (?) (1800-1871)

Of Cumberland and Baltimore. Lawyer and member of the Maryland Legislature. He declined offers of Cabinet seats from Presidents Harrison and Tyler. Author of *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland*. He was a member of the committee which promoted the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and he drafted the charter under which it was incorporated.

Marble bust. H. 34.

By Frederick Volck. Signed: *F. Volck, 1866.*

Lent by The Peabody Institute. 43.44.1

128. MRS. GEORGE FREDERICK MADDOX (Susan Ruth Harris) (1834-1890)

Pastel over photograph (?) 20 x 15. Oval.

Unattributed American.

Bequest of Mrs. Mattie Maddox Key. 42.10.26

129. ALEXANDER MALCOLM (d. 1763)

A school master at New York, he was licensed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for Massachusetts Bay in 1740; he was at Marblehead, Mass. by 1744 and resigned in 1749 to be inducted as rector of St. Anne's Parish, Annapolis; in 1754 he was transferred to St. Paul's Parish, Queen Anne's County; in 1760 he was appointed one of the Commissioners to run the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania but did not attend the meetings. He is said to have been the author of works on mathematics, music, and grammar. A member of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis; his club name was "Philo Dogmaticus."

Wash drawing. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$.

By Alexander Hamilton.

The Tuesday Club Record Book. Gift of James Carroll.

130. JOHN MARSHALL (1755-1835)

Of Virginia. Second Chief Justice of the United States.

Plaster relief cast after broken bust. 11 x 8.

After Jean Antoine Houdon.

Gift of Mrs. Alice Lee Stevenson. 19.15.1

131. NATHANIEL GREENE MAXWELL (1775-1827)

Proprietor of a Baltimore bookstore.

Silhouette. H. $2\frac{7}{8}$.

Cut at Peale's Museum. Stamped: *MUSEUM*.

The Redwood Manuscript Collection.

132. MRS. NATHANIEL GREENE MAXWELL (Anne Maxwell Proud)
(1778-1866)

Silhouette. H. $2\frac{7}{8}$

By William James Hubbard. On backing: *Cut with Scissors / BY / MASTER HUBARD. / WITHOUT Drawing or Machine.*

The Redwood Collection. XX.4.201

133. CHARLES FREDERICK MAYER (1795-1864)

Lawyer, orator and writer; state senator 1831-35.

Bronze bust. H. 20.

By Ephraim Keyser. Signed: *E. Keyser fec '83*.

Gift of Charles Mayer Van Kleeck. 1946.

134. CHARLES F. MAYER

See above.

Plaster bust. H. 20.

After Ephraim Keyser. Signed: *E. Keyser fec '83*.

Gift of Ephraim Keyser. 24.6.2.

135. MR. AND MRS. CHRISTIAN MAYER AND FAMILY

CHRISTIAN MAYER (1764-1843) and MRS MAYER (Anna Maria Baun) (1767-1843)

LOUIS CASPER ZORN MAYER (1793-1832) ANNA MARIA MAYER (1785-1868)

Christian Mayer was a native of Wurttemberg and for fifty-nine years a resident of Baltimore. He was naturalized in 1785; was a member of the firm of Valck and Co., and later of the firm of Brantz and Mayer in the tobacco trade between Maryland, Europe, India and China; he was President of the Patapsco Marine Insurance Company, and the Neptune Marine Insurance Company; and was consul general for Wurttemberg from 1825-1842. He was one of the founders of the German Friendly Society and first President (1817).

Wood carving. H. 36.

By Schwanthaler of Ulm.

Deposited by Mrs. M. W. Mayer. 05.3.1

136. FRANK BLACKWELL MAYER (1827-1899)

Portrait, genre, and historical painter, illustrator. His paintings of Indians, made on a trip among the Dakotahs in Minnesota in 1851, are of considerable ethnological interest and importance.

Plaster bust. H. 20.

After Ephraim Keyser.

Gift of Mrs. Alfred Marshall Mayer. 33.6.1

137. B. G. MINTURN (?)

Silhouette. H. 3.

Unattributed American.

The Redwood Manuscript Collection.

138. THOMAS MOORE (1779-1852)

Irish poet; student at the Middle Temple, London, 1799; in Bermuda in 1803; he traveled through the United States in 1805.

Silhouette. H. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$.

Cut at Peale's Museum.

The Redwood Manuscript Collection.

139. DAVID HENRY MORDECAI (1810-1899)

President of Mordecai & Co., commission merchants and agents for Charleston and Baltimore, and Havana and New Orleans steamers.

Silhouette. H. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Unattributed American.

Gift of Miss Isabel Lazarus. 44.66.65

140. MOSES COHEN MORDECAI (1804-1888)
Of Baltimore, Md., and Charleston, S. C.
Silhouette. H. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$.
Unattributed American.
Gift of Miss Isabel Lazarus. 44.66.64
141. JOHN GOTTLIEB MORRIS (1803-1895)
Clergyman, scientist, author; Pastor of First English Lutheran Church, Baltimore; leading Lutheran scholar in America. First librarian of the Peabody Institute; President of the Maryland Academy of Sciences, The German Historical Society, the Maryland Historical Society, 1895.
Plaster bust. H. 26.
After William Henry Rinehart.
Provenance not established.
142. WILLIAM VANS MURRAY (1761-1803)
Student at the Middle Temple, London, 1784; member of the Maryland Assembly; member of Congress, 1781-1797; United States Minister to the Netherlands, 1797-1801; Envoy Extraordinary to France, 1799; one of the three commissioners who drew up the Convention of Paris; author of *Constitution and Laws of the United States*.
Pastel. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$.
By James Sharples. Signed: *J. Sharples*.
Gift of the Rev. William E. Brand. 1879.1.2
143. JOSEPH HOPPER NICHOLSON (1770-1817)
Of Queen Anne's County, Maryland. Member of Congress from Maryland; distinguished lawyer; Chief Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals.
Gouache over engraving. D. 2 $\frac{1}{8}$.
By C. B. Fevret de St. Memin.
The Noel-Wyatt Collection. XX.1.20
144. GEORGE NIELSON (d. 1736)
A native of Scotland and adherent of the Stuarts, he joined in the Jacobite Rebellion in 1715 and was made a prisoner at Sheriffmuir; he was among those rebels sent to Maryland in 1716. He may have been a silversmith and had a watchmaker's shop and a tavern at Annapolis at which the Upper and Lower Houses and the Provincial Assembly occasionally met. He was the founder of the Royalist Club of Annapolis, from whose successors, the Red House Club and the Ugly Club, the Tuesday Club of Annapolis

was descended. See note under William Cummings and Alexander Hamilton.

Wash drawing. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$.

By Alexander Hamilton.

Dulany Papers. Gift of Mrs. Daniel Ridgley and De Courcy W. Thom.

145. ELIZABETH HARRISON OLIVER (1836-1908)

Of Baltimore.

Pencil Drawing. 11×9 .

By Numa Blanc. Signed: *Numa Blanc*.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.15

146. JANE OLIVER (1798-1811)

Silhouette. H. $2\frac{3}{4}$.

Cut at Peale's Museum. Stamped: *MUSEUM*.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.12

147. JANE OLIVER (1798-1811)

Silhouette. H. $2\frac{5}{8}$.

Attributed to Peale's Museum.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.11

148. MARGARET SPRIGG OLIVER (Mrs. Henry Fenwick Thompson)
(1839-1902)

Pencil drawing. 11×9 .

By Numa Blanc. Signed: *Numa Blanc*.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.16

149. ROBERT OLIVER (1759-1834)

A native of Ireland; probably the wealthiest and most prominent Baltimore merchant of his day; senior member of the firm of R. & J. Oliver.

Porcelain. $7\frac{11}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$.

Unattributed European after William James Hubard.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.8

150. ROBERT OLIVER (1759-1834)

See above.

Porcelain. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$.

Unattributed European, after William James Hubard.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.7

151. MRS. ROBERT OLIVER (Elizabeth Craig) (d. 1823)

Silhouette. H. $2\frac{3}{4}$.

By William James Hubard. Stamped: *Cut with Scissors / by / MASTER HUBARD / WITHOUT / Drawing or Machine..*

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.13

152. ROBERT OLIVER, JR. (1831-1886)
 Silhouette. H. $5\frac{1}{2}$.
 By Georges D'Almaine. Inscribed: *Cut out by / D'Almaine*
Likeness of Robert Oliver / Born March 8 1831 died May 7
1886.
 The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.10
153. THOMAS OLIVER (1802-1848)
 Of Baltimore.
 Pencil drawing. 8 x 10.
 By Daniel or David Bendann after Mary Colt.
 The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.32.
154. THOMAS OLIVER (1802-1848)
 See above.
 Pencil Drawing. 7 x 5.
 By Mary Colt.
 The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.13
155. MRS. THOMAS OLIVER (?) (Mary Caile Harrison) (1805-1873)
 Pencil drawing. $6\frac{1}{8}$ x $5\frac{5}{8}$.
 Attributed to Numa Blanc.
 The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.36
156. MRS. THOMAS OLIVER, HER CHILDREN AND NURSE
 MRS. THOMAS OLIVER (Mary Caile Harrison) (1805-1873)
 ELIZABETH HARRISON OLIVER (1836-1908)
 MARGARET SPRIGG OLIVER (Mrs. Henry Fenwick Thompson)
 (1839-1902)
 THOMAS HARRISON OLIVER (1834-1908)
 "MAMMY"
 Pencil Drawing. 14 x $16\frac{3}{4}$.
 By Numa Blanc. Signed: *Numa Blanc.*
 The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.18
157. THOMAS HARRISON OLIVER (1834-1908)
 Pencil drawing. 11 x $8\frac{7}{8}$.
 By Numa Blanc. Signed: *Numa Blanc.*
 The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.17
158. JOHN WILLIAMSON PALMER, M. D. (1825-1906)
 Of Baltimore. He graduated in medicine at the University of
 Maryland, 1847, joined the "Gold Rush" and was the first city
 physician of San Francisco. As surgeon in the East India Company,
 he saw service during the Second Burmese War; he enlisted in the
 Confederate army after serving briefly as a correspondent for the
New York Times. Palmer edited for a time the *Century* and
Standard Dictionaries; he was a collector, journalist, dramatist,

poet; his best known works are the ballads "Ned Braddock" and "Stonewall Jackson's Way."

Ink drawing. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$.

By Malcolm Fraser. Inscribed: *TO MY FRIEND / Dr. Palmer / MALCOLM FRASER / —1891—*

Provenance not established.

159. THOMAS PLUMMER

Silhouette. H. $3\frac{1}{2}$.

Cut at Peale's Museum. Stamped: *PEALE'S MUSEUM.*

Gift of Miss Lucy Dupuy Plummer. 33.10.1

160. CARROLL POULTNEY (1851-1924)

Of Baltimore. Active in affairs of the Maryland Jockey Club.

Marble bas relief. D. 20.

Unattributed.

Gift of R. Denison Frick. 40.14.2

161. MRS. THOMAS POULTNEY (Susan Carroll) (1829-1912)

Marble bas relief. D. 20.

Unattributed.

Gift of R. Denison Frick. 40.14.1

162. ANNA MARIA PROUD (1816-1879)

Silhouette. H. $1\frac{3}{4}$.

By William James Hubbard. Stamped: *Cut with Scissors / BY MASTER HUBARD / WITHOUT / Drawing or Machine.*

The Redwood Collection. XX.4.205

163. ELIZABETH PROUD

Silhouette. H. 3.

Unattributed American.

The Redwood Manuscript Collection.

164. WILLIAM GEORGE READ (1828-1878)

Marble bust. H. 28.

By Edward S. Bartholomew. Signed: *Bartholomew / Fecit Roma 1852.*

Gift of the Estate of Mrs. Florence Read Beaton. 46.49.1

165. WILLIAM GEORGE READ. (1828-1878)

In character of *Belisarius*.

Bas relief. 28×22 .

By Edward S. Bartholomew. Signed: *Bartholomew / Fecit Roma 1853.*

Gift of Mrs. Florence Read Beaton. 31.8.2

166. DR. JOHN DIDIER READELL (1790-1854)

Secretary of the Delphian Club of Baltimore; his club name was

"Bleaus Von Crambegrapp"; this drawing is bound in the Club minutes. He was Masonic Grand Master of Maryland, 1848.

Wash drawing. $7\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$.

By Joseph Wood. Signed: *Wood del.*

Bequest of Mrs. Mary W. Jordan.

167. CHARLES (CARNAN) RIDGELY OF "HAMPTON" (1760-1829)

Born Carnan, in 1790 he took the name of his mother's family to comply with the will of his uncle under which he inherited "Hampton," Baltimore County, Md.; member of the House of Delegates, 1790-1795; State Senate, 1796-1800, seventeenth governor of Maryland, 1816-18; Brigadier-General Maryland Militia, 1794. He is mounted on the noted racer, "Tuckahoe," champion of the Maryland turf, 1813-16.

Silhouette. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$.

Attributed to William James Hubbard.

Bequest of Mrs. J. Holmes Whiteley. 30.11.1

168. WILLIAM HENRY RINEHART (1825-1874)

Of Maryland. Distinguished sculptor who resided in Rome after 1858; protégé of William T. Walters of Baltimore.

Plaster bas-relief. $21 \times 16\frac{1}{2}$.

By William H. Rinehart. Signed: *W. H. Rinehart.*

Provenance not established.

169. THOMAS RUSSELL (1789-1833)

Ink drawing. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$.

By Anson Dickinson.

Gift of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants. 45.52.1

170. THOMAS PARKIN SCOTT (1804-1873)

First Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City.

Crayon drawing over photograph. 30×25 .

By Dieterich & Busey. Signed: *Dieterich / del [and] Busey.*

Gift of T. Parkin Scott and other grandchildren. 31.1.1

171. WALTER SCOTT (1771-1832)

Poet and novelist.

Plaster bust. H. 30.

After Francis Legatt Chantry, 1820.

Provenance not established.

172. ROBERT MILES SPILLER (1808-1878)

Baltimore merchant of the firm of Spiller and Alcock.

Pastel over a photograph. 28×24 .

By Oscar Hallwig. Signed: *Butler Bros. [and] Oscar Hallwig pxt.*

Gift of Robert E. Spiller. 1940.

173. OTTO SUTRO (1833-1896)

A native of Prussia who emigrated to America in time to join the Gold Rush to California; he settled in Baltimore in 1858 where he was a dealer in musical instruments, an organist and a founder of the Wednesday Club of Baltimore, and of the Baltimore Oratorio Society.

By Harper Pennington.

Wash drawing. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$.

Wednesday Club Collection.

174. ZACHARY TAYLOR (1784-1850)

Of Virginia and Kentucky. Distinguished soldier, twelfth President of the United States.

Bronze statuette. H. $6\frac{1}{2}$.

By Trudeau. Signed: *Trudeau Sculp.*

The Noel-Wyatt Collection. XX.1.22

175. ZACHARY TAYLOR (1784-1850)

See above.

Iron relief. D. $7\frac{3}{4}$.

By Samuel B. Wetherald

Gift of Samuel B. Wetherald. 1847.2.1

176. ZACHARY TAYLOR (1784-1850)

See above.

Plaster bust. H. 29.

Unattributed American.

Provenance not established.

177. EVAN PHILIP THOMAS (b. 1806)

Marble bust. H. 28.

By Horatio Greenough. Signed: *H. G.* 37.

Gift of Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser. 18.11.2

178. MRS. EVAN PHILIP THOMAS (Elizabeth Todhunter)

Marble bust. H. 26.

By Horatio Greenough. Signed: *H G* 37.

Gift of Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser. 18.11.1

179. WILLIAM THORNTON (d. 1769)

Of Annapolis; Sheriff of Anne Arundel County, 1745-1748; Church Warden of St. Anne's, Annapolis, 1726, 1756. He was a member of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis; as the Club musician his title was "Protomusicus" and his club name was "Solo Neverout." (See also William Wilkins and William Thornton.)

Wash drawing. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$.

By Alexander Hamilton.

The Tuesday Club Record Book. Gift of James Carroll.

180. ADALBERT JOHN VOLCK (1828-1912)

Political refugee from Germany; dentist, artist, silversmith; best known for his caricatures of Lincoln and the Union cause in the Civil War.

Ink drawing. 7 x 4½.

By Harper Pennington. Signed: *HP*.

Gift of Mrs. F. H. Falkinburg. 22.16.1

181. ADALBERT JOHN VOLCK (1828-1912)

See above.

Ink drawing. 7 x 4½.

Attributed to Harper Pennington.

The Wednesday Club Collection.

182. GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799)

Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army; First President of the United States. This work was formerly set in the facade of the house of General Samuel Smith on Water Street, Baltimore.

Sandstone bas-relief. 34 x 31. (Head 15 x 15). Oval.

By John Abraham Chevalier after Houdon.

Gift of Johns Hopkins, 1847. On deposit at Johns Hopkins University.

183. GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799)

See above.

Ink drawing. 42 x 32.

By Robert Piggott after Gilbert Stuart.

Gift of the Rev. Robert Piggott, D. D. 1869.2.1

184. GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799)

See above.

Marble bust. H. 30.

By Hiram Powers after Jean Antoine Houdon. Signed: *H. Powers / Sculp.*

Gift of Mrs. Irvine Keyser. 18.11.1

185. GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799)

See above.

Wax relief. H. 9.

By Patience Wright.

Deposited by Mrs. F. Bosley Crowther. 44.20.1

186. GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799)
See above.
Chinese painting on glass. 30 x 25.
By a Chinese artist after Gilbert Stuart.
Gift of Miss Ella Warden. 43.30.1
187. GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799)
See above.
One of the so called "Pitcher portraits." Transfer on porcelain.
4 x 3 $\frac{1}{4}$.
Unattributed, after Gilbert Stuart.
The Redwood Collection. XX.4.554
188. DANIEL WEBSTER (1782-1852)
Lawyer, orator and statesman. Member of Congress and Senator from Massachusetts; Secretary of State under Harrison and Tyler; negotiator of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, 1842.
Plaster bust. H. 30.
By Shobal V. Clevenger.
Gift of Osmond Tiffany. 1891.3.2
189. WILLIAM WILKINS (d. 1761) and WILLIAM THORNTON (d. 1769)
William Wilkins of Annapolis was for many years prosecutor in the Mayor's Court and clerk to many committees in the Lower House of Assembly.
For William Thornton see above.
Wash drawing. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$.
By Alexander Hamilton.
The Tuesday Club Record Book. Gift of James Carroll.
190. WILLIAM III (1650-1702)
Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic; King of England.
Ink on parchment indenture, 1695.
Land papers—England.
191. JOHN THOMAS WILLIAMS (1820-1905)
Baltimore artist and photographer.
Pastel. 28 x 22. Oval.
Attributed to John Thomas Williams.
Bequest of Miss Nellie C. Williams. 44.7.1
192. MRS. JOHN THOMAS WILLIAMS (Cecilia Dushane) (1823-1897)
Pastel. 28 x 22. Oval.
Attributed to John Thomas Williams.
Bequest of Miss Nellie C. Williams. 44.71.2

193. THOMAS DEKAY WINANS (1820-1878)

Of Baltimore. Inventor and engineer who in 1859 and 1862 built steamers known, from their shape, as "cigar boats." In 1842 he went to Russia with Major George W. Whistler, Superintendent of the Russian Railroads. Later Mr. Winans and Joseph Harrison of Philadelphia secured contracts for Russian railroad equipment which by 1851 totaled \$7,000,000. From 1866 to 1868 he was president of the St. Petersburg and Moscow Railroad.

Marble bust. H. 32.

By Chauncey B. Ives. Signed: *C. B. Ives / fecit / Roma, 1861.*

Gift of Miss Elsie Hutton. 25.20.1

194. WILLIAM HENRY WINDER (1775-1824)

Prominent Maryland lawyer. Member of the Maryland House of Delegates and Senate; in the War of 1812 he commanded the American forces at Bladensburg and was later placed in command of the 10th Military District.

Marble bust. H. 29.

By Hugh Cannon after Antonio Capellano. Signed: *Gen. W. H. Winder / By H. Cannon / 1843 A bust by Capellano / 1820.*

Gift of William S. Winder. 1878.4.1

195. UNKNOWN MAN

Chalk drawing. $24\frac{1}{4} \times 17$.

By Georges D'Almaine. Signed: *G. D'Almaine / 1847 [and] G. D'Almaine / 1847.*

Gift of George Dobbin Brown. 44.53.1

196. UNKNOWN MAN

Silhouette. H. $2\frac{3}{4}$.

Cut at Peale's Museum. Stamped: "MUSEUM."

Gift of Mrs. Katherine Mackenzie Brevitt. 30.7.12

197. UNKNOWN MAN

Silhouette. H. $2\frac{3}{4}$.

Cut by George Todd. Stamped: *TODD'S / PATENT.*

Gift of Mrs. Katherine Mackenzie Brevitt. 30.7.13

198. UNKNOWN MAN

Silhouette. H. $2\frac{3}{4}$.

Cut at Peale's Museum. Stamped: *MUSEUM.*

The Redwood Manuscript Collection.

199. UNKNOWN MAN

Pencil drawing on vellum. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$.

By Thomas Worlidge. Inscribed: *Thos. / Worlidge / 1738 / AE*
68.

Carroll of "The Caves" Papers. Gift of Douglas Gordon
Carroll.

200. UNKNOWN MAN

Watercolor on paper. 4×3 .

Unattributed French colonial.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection.

201. TWO UNIDENTIFIED MEN

Pencil drawing. $7\frac{7}{8} \times 6$.

By Benjamin Henry Latrobe.

In Latrobe's Journal. Gift of Raphael Semmes.

202. UNKNOWN YOUTH

Black chalk drawing. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$.

Unattributed American.

The Noel-Wyatt Collection. XX.1.14

203. UNKNOWN LADY

Watercolor. 4×3 .

Unattributed French Colonial.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection.

204. UNKNOWN LADY

Silhouette. H. 3.

Unattributed American.

Gift of Mrs. Katherine Mackenzie Brevitt. 30.7.14

205. UNKNOWN LADY

Silhouette. H. $2\frac{5}{8}$.

Unattributed American.

The Redwood Collection. XX.4.212

206. UNKNOWN LADY, 1827.

Silhouette. H. $2\frac{3}{4}$.

Unattributed American.

The Redwood Manuscript Collection.

207. UNKNOWN LADY (Dolly Madison?)

Silhouette. H. $3\frac{1}{8}$.

Unattributed American.

The Redwood Manuscript Collection.

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Mrs. William George Baker (gouache)

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Thomas Oliver (pencil drawing)

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GEORGES D'ALMAINE

Madame Jerome Bonaparte (pastel after Gilbert Stuart)	Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte Jr. (pastel)
Mrs. Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte (pastel)	Harry Gilmor (wash drawing) Robert Oliver, Jr. (silhouette) Unknown man (chalk drawing)

JACQUES LOUIS DAVID

Napoleon Bonaparte (bronze bas relief after David)

HENRY DEXTER

Thomas Holliday Hicks (plaster bust)

ANSON DICKINSON

Thomas Russell (ink drawing)

DIETERICH & BUSEY

Thomas Parkin Scott (crayon drawing)

AUGUSTUS EDOUART

George Buchanan Coale (2 silhou- ettes)	Bernard Gratz Etting (silhouette) Solomon Etting (silhouette)
Augustus Edouart (silhouette)	

MALCOLM FRASER

John Williamson Palmer (ink drawing)

THOMAS GIMBREDE

Richea Gratz Etting (wash draw- ing touched with color)	Mrs. Solomon Etting (wash draw- ing touched with color)
Solomon Etting (wash drawing touched with color)	

HORATIO GREENOUGH

Evan Philip Thomas (marble bust) Mrs. Evan Philip Thomas (marble bust)

OSCAR HALLWIG

Louis Ash (pastel) Robert Miles Spiller (pastel)
Mrs. Louis Ash (pastel)

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

John Beale Bordley (2 wash drawings)	Thomas Jennings (wash drawing)
John Bullen (wash drawing)	John Lomus (wash drawing and ink drawing)
Charles Cole (wash drawing)	Alexander Malcolm (wash drawing)
William Cummings (wash drawing)	George Nielson (wash drawing)
Richard Dorsey (wash drawing)	William Thornton (2 wash drawings)
Walter Dulany (wash drawing)	William Wilkins (wash drawing)
Jonas Green (wash drawing)	
Alexander Hamilton (wash drawing)	

MASTER HANKES

Anna Laetitia Coale (silhouette) Solomon Etting (silhouette)

JOEL TANNER HART

Henry Clay (plaster bust)

FRANCIS HOPKINSON

Francis Hopkinson (pastel-copy after Robert Edge Pine)
James Hopkinson (pastel)

JEAN ANTOINE HOUDON

John Marshall (plaster relief—cast after broken bust)
George Washington (marble bust copied by Hiram Powers and stone bas-relief by John Abraham Chevalier)

WILLIAM JAMES HUBARD

Edward Johnson Coale (2 silhouettes)	Robert Oliver (2 copies after Hubbard on porcelain by unknown artist)
Mrs. Grafton Duval (silhouette)	Mrs. Robert Oliver (silhouette)
Mrs. Nathaniel Greene Maxwell (silhouette)	Anna Maria Proud (silhouette)
	Governor Charles Ridgely on <i>Tuckahoe</i> (silhouette)

HENRI-FREDERIC ISELIN

Napoleon Bonaparte (marble bust) Prince Napoleon (Bonaparte)
after Charles Louis Corbet (bronze bust)
Napoleon (Bonaparte) III (bronze bust)

CHAUNCEY B. IVES

Thomas de Kay Winans (marble bust)

EASTMAN JOHNSON

Miss Harris (Black chalk drawing)

THOMAS D. JONES

Henry Clay (3 plaster bas-reliefs)

EPHRAIM KEYSER

Sidney Lanier (plaster bust) Frank Blackwell Mayer (plaster
Charles F. Mayer (bronze bust and bust)
plaster bust)

BENJAMIN HENRY LATROBE

Cornelius Calvert (ink drawing) Unknown Men (pencil drawing)

JOHN HAZLEHURST BONEVAL LATROBE

Junius Brutus Booth (?) (pencil drawing) John H. B. Latrobe, Jr. (pencil drawing)
Ferdinand C. Latrobe (pencil drawing) Lydia Latrobe (?) (pencil drawing)
Ferdinand C. Latrobe (?) (pencil drawing) Richard Steuart Latrobe (pencil drawing)
Henry Latrobe (?) (pencil drawing) Boy of the Latrobe family (2 pencil drawings)
Mrs. John H. B. Latrobe (pencil drawing) Miss Latrobe (pencil drawing)

SAMUEL LAWRENCE

George H. Calvert of Riverdale (black chalk drawing)

HASLETT MCKIM

Susan McKim (silhouette)

POMPEO MARCHESI

Laetitia Bonaparte (Madame Mére) (marble head after Canova)

FRANK BLACKWELL MAYER

Crazy Jakes (black chalk drawing)

CLARK MILLS

Andrew Jackson (plaster statuette)

JOHN MOALE

John Knox (wash drawing)

MOREL

The Marquis de Lafayette (gilt bas-relief medallion)

PEALE'S MUSEUM, BALTIMORE

George Buchanan (silhouette)	Jane Oliver (2 silhouettes)
Edward Johnson Coale (silhouette)	Thomas Plummer (silhouette)
Nathanael Greene Maxwell (silhouette)	Unknown Man (silhouette)
Thomas Moore (silhouette)	Unknown Man (silhouette)

APSLEY PELLATT

Napoleon Bonaparte (cameo incrustation)

HARPER PENNINGTON

Otto Sutro (wash drawing) Adalbert John Volck (2 ink drawings)

ROBERT PIGGOTT

George Washington (ink drawing after Gilbert Stuart)

ROBERT EDGE PINE

Francis Hopkinson (pastel copied by subject)

HIRAM POWERS

George Washington (marble bust) (copy after Jean-Antoine Houdon)

LEONCE RABILLON

John Pendleton Kennedy (plaster bust)

WILLIAM HENRY RINEHART

John Gottlieb Morris (plaster bust)
William Henry Rinehart (plaster bas-relief)

C. B. FEVRET DE SAINT MEMIN

- | | |
|--|--|
| Charles Carroll of Carrollton (black chalk drawing) | Eliza Sophia Coale (watercolor) |
| Anna Maria Coale (watercolor cut out on silk) | Mary Abigail Willing Coale (watercolor) |
| Edward Johnson Coale (black chalk drawing; and gouache over engraving) | Robert Goodloe Harper (black chalk drawing) |
| | Joseph Hopper Nicholson (gouache over engraving) |

SCHWANTHALER OF ULM

- Mr. and Mrs. Christian Mayer and Family (wood carving)

JAMES SHARPLES

- Mrs. Thomas Marsh Forman (pastel) William Vans Murray (pastel)

GILBERT STUART

- | | |
|---|--|
| Madame Jerome Bonaparte (pastel, copied by Georges D'Almaine) | George Washington (porcelain "pitcher portrait," copied by unknown artist) |
| Thomas McKean (wash drawing, copied by Samuel B. Wetherald) | George Washington (glass painting made in China, copied by unknown artist) |
| George Washington (ink drawing, copied by Robert Piggott) | |

GEORGE TODD

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| John W. D. Dorsey (silhouette) | Adeline McKean (silhouette) |
| Unknown man (silhouette) | |

RAIMONDO TRENTANOVE

- Robert Goodloe Harper (marble head and plaster head)

TRUDEAU

- Zachary Taylor (bronze statuette)

VINCENZO VELA

- Napoleon Bonaparte (plaster statuette)

ADALBERT JOHN VOLCK

- Daniel Coit Gilman (ink drawing)

FREDERICK VOLCK

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| James Logue (marble bust) | John Van Lear MacMahon (marble bust) |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|

SAMUEL B. WETHERALD

- Thomas McKean (wash drawing after Gilbert Stuart)
- Zachary Taylor (iron bas-relief)

JOHN THOMAS WILLIAMS

John Thomas Williams (pastel) Mrs. John Thomas Williams (pastel)

JOSEPH WOOD

Dr. John Didier Readell (wash drawing)

THOMAS WORLIDGE

Unknown man (pencil drawing on vellum).

PATIENCE WRIGHT

George Washington (wax relief)

UNKNOWN ARTISTS' WORK

- | | |
|--|---|
| Paul Allen (wash drawing) | Jacob Hindman (?) (pencil drawing and watercolor) |
| Charles Marie Bonaparte (marble bust) | Becky James (pencil drawing) |
| Madame Jerome Bonaparte (silhouette) | Christopher Johnston, M. D. (plaster bust) |
| Napoleon Bonaparte (2 marble busts) | Benjamin Henry Latrobe (pastel) |
| The Prince Imperial (Bonaparte) (bas-relief) | Edward Carrell Lucas (black chalk drawing) |
| Prince Camillo Borghesi (marble bust) | Haslett McKim, Jr. (3) (conchelia, blue composition, plaster) |
| Elizabeth Buchanan (silhouette) | Mrs. George Frederick Maddox (pastel over photograph) |
| Laetitia Buchanan (silhouette) | B. G. Minturn (?) (silhouette) |
| Charles Carroll of Carrollton (high-relief) | David Henry Mordecai (silhouette) |
| Anna Maria Coale (2 silhouettes) | Moses Cohen Mordecai (silhouette) |
| Edward Johnson Coale (silhouette) | Robert Oliver (2 porcelains copied after Hubard) |
| Mrs. Edward Johnson Coale (silhouette) | Carroll Poultney (marble bas-relief) |
| Mrs. Samuel Stringer Coale (2 silhouettes) | Mrs. Thomas Poultney (marble bas-relief) |
| Anna Maria Cohen (pastel) | Elizabeth Proud (silhouette) |
| Mrs. Benjamin I. Cohen (ink drawing) | Zachary Taylor (plaster bust) |
| John W. D. Dorsey (silhouette) | George Washington (porcelain copied after Gilbert Stuart) |
| Mrs. Elijah Etting (silhouette) | George Washington (Chinese painting on glass copied after Gilbert Stuart) |
| Fanny Etting (silhouette) | William III (ink drawing on parchment) |
| Mrs. William Fell Giles (pastel over photograph) | Unknown man (watercolor) |
| Mrs. Harbaugh (watercolor) | Unknown youth (black chalk drawing) |
| Washington Harper Harbaugh (watercolor) | Unknown woman (4 silhouettes) |
| Charles Carroll Harper (marble bust) | Unknown woman (watercolor) |
| Queen Henrietta Maria (ink drawing) | |

PASTELS AND DRAWINGS

Thomas Stockett Alexander	<i>Pencil drawing</i>
Paul Allen	<i>Wash drawing</i>
Louis Ash	<i>Pastel</i>
Mrs. Louis Ash	<i>Pastel</i>
Madame Jerome Bonaparte	<i>Pastel</i>
Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, Jr.	<i>Pastel</i>
Mrs. Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte	<i>Pastel</i>
Junius Brutus Booth (?)	<i>Pencil drawing</i>
John Beale Bordley (2)	<i>Wash drawings</i>
John Bullen	<i>Wash drawing</i>
George Calvert	<i>Chalk drawing</i>
Cornelius Calvert	<i>Ink drawing</i>
Charles Carroll of Carrollton	<i>Chalk drawing</i>
Edward Johnson Coale	<i>Chalk drawing</i>
Anna Maria Cohen	<i>Pastel</i>
Mrs. Benjamin I. Cohen	<i>Ink drawing</i>
Charles Cole	<i>Wash drawing</i>
Roswell Lyman Colt	<i>Pencil drawing with color</i>
William Cummings	<i>Wash drawing</i>
Walter Dulany	<i>Wash drawing</i>
Solomon Etting	<i>Wash drawing</i>
Mrs. Solomon Etting	<i>Wash drawing</i>
Richea Gratz Etting	<i>Wash drawing</i>
Mrs. Thomas Marsh Forman	<i>Pastel</i>
Mrs. William Fell Giles	<i>Pastel</i>
Daniel Coit Gilman	<i>Ink drawing</i>
Harry Gilmor	<i>Wash drawing over photograph</i>
Jonas Green	<i>Wash drawing</i>
Alexander Hamilton, M. D.	<i>Wash drawing</i>
Robert Goodloe Harper	<i>Chalk drawing</i>
Miss Harris	<i>Chalk drawing</i>
Henrietta Maria	<i>Ink drawing</i>
Jacob Hindman (?)	<i>Pencil drawing</i>
Francis Hopkinson	<i>Pastel</i>
James Hopkinson	<i>Pastel</i>
Crazy Jakes	<i>Chalk drawing</i>
Becky James	<i>Pencil drawing</i>
Thomas Jennings	<i>Wash drawing</i>
John Knox	<i>Wash drawing</i>
Benjamin Henry Latrobe	<i>Pastel</i>
Ferdinand C. Latrobe (?) (2)	<i>Pencil drawings</i>
Mrs. John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe	<i>Pencil drawing</i>
Henry Latrobe (?)	<i>Pencil drawing</i>
John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe, Jr.	<i>Pencil drawing</i>

Lilly Latrobe	<i>Pencil drawing</i>
Richard Steuart Latrobe	<i>Pencil drawing</i>
Miss Latrobe	<i>Pencil drawing</i>
Boy of the Latrobe Family (2)	<i>Pencil drawings</i>
John Lomus	<i>Wash drawing</i>
John Lomus	<i>Ink drawing</i>
Edward Carrell Lucas	<i>Chalk drawing</i>
Thomas McKean	<i>Wash drawing</i>
Mrs. George Frederick Maddox	<i>Pastel over photograph</i>
Alexander Malcolm	<i>Wash drawing</i>
William Vans Murray	<i>Pastel</i>
George Nielson	<i>Wash drawing</i>
Elizabeth Harrison Oliver	<i>Pencil drawing</i>
Margaret Sprigg Oliver	<i>Pencil drawings</i>
Thomas Oliver (2)	<i>Pencil drawings</i>
Mrs. Thomas Oliver	<i>Pencil drawing</i>
Mrs. Thomas Oliver & Family	<i>Pencil drawing</i>
Thomas Harrison Oliver	<i>Pencil drawing</i>
John Williamson Palmer	<i>Ink drawing</i>
John Didier Readell, M. D.	<i>Wash drawing</i>
Thomas Russell	<i>Ink drawing</i>
Thomas Parkin Scott	<i>Crayon drawing</i>
Robert Miles Spiller	<i>Pastel over photograph</i>
Otto Sutro	<i>Wash drawing</i>
William Thornton (2)	<i>Wash drawings</i>
Adalbert John Volck (2)	<i>Ink drawings</i>
George Washington	<i>Ink drawing</i>
William Wilkins	<i>Wash drawing</i>
William III	<i>Ink drawing</i>
Mr. and Mrs. John Thomas Williams	<i>Pencil drawings</i>
Two unknown men	<i>Pencil drawing</i>
Unknown man	<i>Chalk drawing</i>
Unknown man	<i>Pencil drawing</i>
Unknown youth	<i>Chalk drawing</i>

SCULPTURE

Richard Henry Bayard	<i>Plaster bust</i>
Charles Marie Bonaparte	<i>Marble bust</i>
Laetitia Bonaparte (Madame Mère)	<i>Marble head</i>
Napoleon Bonaparte (3)	<i>Marble busts</i>
Napoleon Bonaparte	<i>Plaster statuette</i>
Napoleon Bonaparte	<i>Bronze relief</i>
Prince Imperial (Bonaparte)	<i>Bronze statuette</i>
Prince Imperial (Bonaparte)	<i>Bois darci relief</i>
Prince Camillo Borghesi	<i>Marble bust</i>
Charles Carroll of Carrollton	<i>High relief</i>
Henry Clay (2)	<i>Plaster busts</i>

Henry Clay (3)	<i>Plaster bas-reliefs</i>
Millard Fillmore	<i>Plaster bust</i>
Alexander Hamilton	<i>Plaster head</i>
Charles Carroll Harper	<i>Marble bust</i>
Robert Goodloe Harper	<i>Marble head</i>
Robert Goodloe Harper	<i>Plaster head</i>
Thomas Holliday Hicks	<i>Plaster bust</i>
Andrew Jackson	<i>Plaster statuette</i>
Christopher Johnston, M. D.	<i>Plaster bust</i>
John Pendleton Kennedy	<i>Plaster bust</i>
General the Marquis de Lafayette	<i>Medallion</i>
Sidney Lanier	<i>Plaster bust</i>
James Logue	<i>Marble bust</i>
James Howard McHenry	<i>Marble bas-relief</i>
John Van Lear McMahon	<i>Marble bust</i>
John Marshall	<i>Plaster high relief</i>
Christian Mayer Family	<i>Wood group</i>
Frank Blackwell Mayer	<i>Plaster bust</i>
Charles F. Mayer	<i>Bronze bust</i>
Charles F. Mayer	<i>Plaster bust</i>
John Gottlieb Morris	<i>Plaster bust</i>
Napoleon III (Charles Bonaparte)	<i>Bronze bust</i>
Prince Napoleon (Bonaparte)	<i>Bronze bust</i>
Charles Carroll Poultney	<i>Marble relief</i>
Mrs. Thomas Poultney	<i>Marble relief</i>
William George Read	<i>Marble bust</i>
William George Read	<i>Marble relief</i>
William Henry Rinehart	<i>Plaster bas-relief</i>
Walter Scott	<i>Plaster bust</i>
Zachary Taylor	<i>Bronze statuette</i>
Zachary Taylor	<i>Iron relief</i>
Zachary Taylor	<i>Plaster bust</i>
Evan Philip Thomas	<i>Marble bust</i>
Mrs. Evan Philip Thomas	<i>Marble bust</i>
George Washington	<i>Stone bas-relief</i>
George Washington	<i>Marble bust</i>
George Washington	<i>Wax relief</i>
Daniel Webster	<i>Plaster bust</i>
Thomas de Kay Winans	<i>Marble bust</i>
William Henry Winder	<i>Marble bust</i>

SILHOUETTES

Madame Jerome Bonaparte	Susan McKim
George Buchanan	Nathaniel Greene Maxwell
Elizabeth Buchanan	Mrs. Nathaniel Greene Maxwell
Laetitia Buchanan	B. G. Minturn
Anna Laetitia Coale (3)	David Henry Mordecai

Edward Johnson Coale (4)	Moses Cohen Mordecai
George Buchanan Coale (2)	Thomas Moore
Mrs. Samuel Stringer Coale (2)	Jane Oliver (2)
John W. D. Dorsey	Mrs. Robert Oliver
Mrs. Grafton Duval	Robert Oliver, Jr.
Augustus Edouart	Thomas Plummer
Bernard Gratz Etting	Anna Maria Proud
Mrs. Elijah Etting	Elizabeth Proud
Fanny Etting	Governor Charles Ridgely
Solomon Etting (2)	Unknown men (3)
Adeline McKean	Unknown women (4)

WATERCOLOR AND GOUACHE

Mrs. William George Baker	<i>Gouache</i>
Anna Maria Coale	<i>Watercolor</i>
Edward Johnson Coale	<i>Gouache</i>
Eliza Sophia Coale	<i>Watercolor</i>
Mary Abigail Willing Coale	<i>Watercolor</i>
Roswell Colt	<i>Watercolor</i>
Mrs. Harbaugh	<i>Watercolor</i>
Washington Harper Harbaugh	<i>Watercolor</i>
Jacob Hindman	<i>Watercolor</i>
Joseph Hopper Nicholson	<i>Gouache</i>
Unknown Lady	<i>Watercolor</i>
Unknown Man	<i>Watercolor</i>

MISCELLANEOUS

Napoleon Bonaparte (cameo incrustation, glass)	George Washington (Chinese painting on glass)
Haslett McKim (3) (conchelia, composition, plaster)	George Washington (porcelain transfer after Gilbert Stuart)
Robert Oliver (2) (porcelain after William J. Hubbard)	

"HOLLY HILL," EARLY PLANTATION HOME IN ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY

By the EDITOR

One of the most interesting examples of 17th and early 18th century architecture in Maryland, or in any of our older states, is "Holly Hill," the home of Captain Hugh P. LeClair, U. S. N. (retired) and Mrs. LeClair, near Friendship, in the lower part of Anne Arundel County. It consists of two distinct but connected buildings. One section was built as a complete unit some time after 1665, to which two rooms were soon added. The larger part was built between 1716 and 1733 in the form of a wing. The present design of the house is that of a "T," with the older part of the house forming the stem.¹

A complete restoration since its purchase in 1936 by the LeClairs has brought to light various unusual features and indicated certain details which are probably unique.

The property was surveyed in 1663 for Francis Holland, a justice of Anne Arundel County, under the name of "Holland's Hills." A part of the estate was purchased in 1665 by Richard Harrison, a Quaker, who soon built thereon a clapboard home. This consisted of a large room having a fireplace at each end, and a smaller room above stairs. A few years later two additional rooms were added, a large kitchen, and a storeroom above it. About 1704 the front wall and one end wall were covered with brick, leaving the original frame construction intact. Part of the

¹ This article is based on the evidence of ten photographs of "Holly Hill," presented to the Society by Mrs. LeClair; on a statement furnished by her, embodying the findings resulting from search of records and architectural investigation; and on an article about "Holly Hill" by Sally Burwell in the *Southern Maryland Times* for March 15, 1946. This paper is printed not without grave misgivings, for architecture should not be discussed by a non-professional. The pictures, however, require explanation and the history of the house deserves recognition. The wish to share enjoyment of the pictures must be the excuse for this account.

original clapboard sheathing of these portions of the house, including a casement window frame, can still be seen.

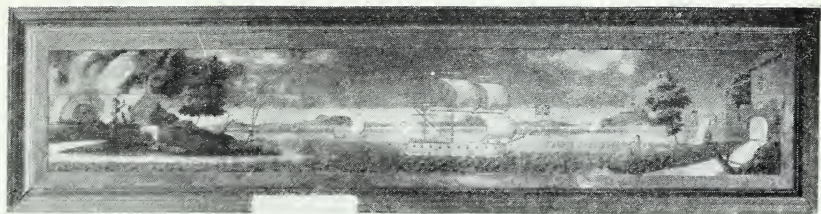
By the time of his death in 1716, Harrison had accumulated a total of 1342 acres.² The plantation was left to his second son, Samuel, who before his death in 1733 doubled the size of the house by adding what is now the cross of the "T."

The older part of the house is distinguished, as would be expected, by sturdy construction, interesting paneling, and dungeon-like cellar, ancient glass panes, and huge batten doors with original hardware. The basement consists of two small rooms, one of which has an iron-barred window and heavy door. Foundation walls are 30 inches thick. The three rooms of the main floor consist of dining room, hall and, at base of the "T," a bedroom. The latter has panelled walls and a curious curved-back fireplace. Some of the window panes are crudely marked with the names of Samuel and Sarah Harrison, Joseph Harrison and B. Galloway. The upper floor is extremely simple with exposed original rafters.

The formal entrance is at the north side, opposite the door shown in the picture of the exterior (cover). On entering one passes under the landing of a stairway with panelled wainscoting. Both outside doors are of the batten type swung on HL hinges. At left is the library, which has the expected panelled wainscot, deep window embrasures and a simple wooden cornice. Over the narrow shelf which serves as mantel there is an original oil painting on canvas, representing a chart of "Holly Hill," entitled "Samuel Harrison's Land near Herring Bay." This measures 36 by 42 inches. Not only hills, valleys, streams, and the farmhouse itself are shown, but also "Church Road" and "Severn Ridge Road." At lower left is a close-up view of the house. This painting was formerly so discolored and grimy that it could not be fully seen. The name of the painter, unfortunately, remains unknown.

From the hall an archway leads to the door into the dining room, in the older building. Here is another painting, showing a landlocked harbor with two vessels, one flying the English colors, a two-story residence and a gentleman, presumably the owner, and his son standing at the water's edge. This is set into a panel above the fireplace. There is no mantel. Some have thought the

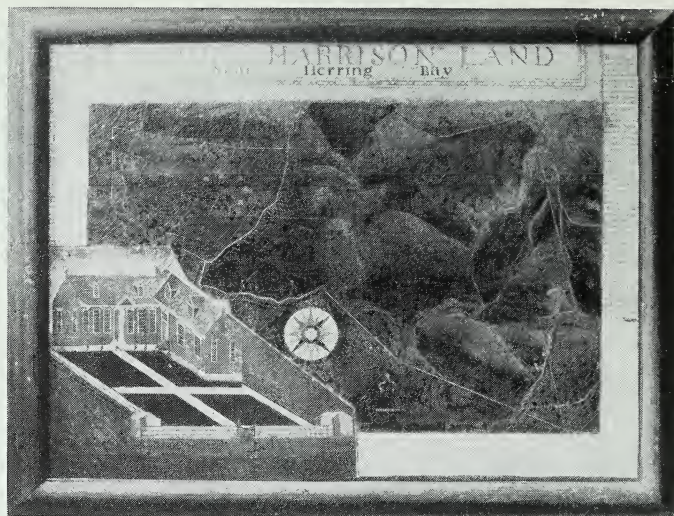
² *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, IV (Baltimore, 1914), p. 50.



Painted wood panel over dining room fireplace.



Entrance hall and passage leading to older part of house.



Painted plat of "Holly Hill" with inset view of house and garden.
In the border are set forth the metes and bounds of the property.



Marbleized panelling in bedroom and landscape painted on wood.

scene might be St. Mary's City in 1634—an obvious impossibility. More likely is the theory that it represents Herring Bay and vessels of the Maryland planters.

It must be left to an expert to describe the charm of the main stairway, with its two landings, its wide treads, and beautiful rail and balusters. Two other mural paintings which grace this house of unique features must, however, be described. In one of the two second-floor rooms the entire end-wall is of marbleized panelling. Again there is no mantel. The fireplace is flanked on both sides by narrow closet doors. In the central panel is set a large oil painting on wood. Measuring 26 by 54½ inches, this mural depicts a romantic land-and-water scene suggestive of England. At right rise the turrets and battlements of a medieval castle over which flies what seems to be an English merchant flag. A smaller painting on wood, 8½ by 32 inches, is set into a hall panel. It shows a circular Norman tower in a landscape of lake and mountain.

The title to "Holly Hill" descended from Samuel Harrison, who died in 1733, to his eldest son, Richard, second of the name. In direct line it came to Joseph Harrison, whose widow in 1850 sold it to John H. Somerville. He in turn disposed of it in 1855 to William B. Scrivener. From his son, Mr. Frederick W. Scrivener, who inherited this portion of the property, "Holly Hill" was purchased in 1936 by the present owners.

It is needless to report that legends abound at "Holly Hill." The most persistent, as well as the most intriguing, is to the effect that a "pirate," one Hogarth, frequented Herring Bay, a half-mile away though out of sight of the mansion, and concealed his ill-gotten plunder in the dungeon beneath "Holly Hill." There is even a story that an underground passage from the house to the Bay enabled Hogarth to stow away goods without being seen. Suffice it to say that collusion between a staunch Quaker family like the Harrisons and an outlaw seems improbable in the extreme. The "passage" has been explored and found to extend only 10 feet from the cellar. Its purpose remains obscure. As for Hogarth, assuming a person of this name actually was known on this coast, may he not have been a smuggler who sometimes hid in Herring Bay to elude the revenue collectors?

THE SOCIETY OF THE CININNATI

Contributed by HARRISON TILGHMAN

The accompanying list, prepared by Commander Alexander Murdoch Norris, Secretary of the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, contains the names of officers of the American Army, not presently represented in the Society, whose services during the War for Independence were such as to constitute them *propositi* for membership in the Society. Appended to this list is a roster of those Revolutionary officers who are today represented in the membership of the Society.

The Society was established by officers of the Continental Army (commissioned by the Continental Congress) then in cantonments near New Windsor, New York, in May, 1783 (as the Army was about to be disbanded) as "One Society of Friends," to endure as long as they, or their representatives, being worthy supporters of its principles, shall endure. These "immutable principles" form the basis of the Society of the Cincinnati and are stated in its Institution as follows:

An incessant attention to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature for which they [the founders and their brothers in arms] have fought and bled and without which the high rank of a rational being is a curse instead of a blessing.

An unalterable determination to promote and cherish, between the respective states that union and national honor so essentially necessary to their happiness and the future dignity of the American empire.

To render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers. This spirit will dictate brotherly kindness in all things and particularly extend to the most substantial acts of beneficence towards those officers and their families, who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it.

The "One Society of Friends" is divided into fourteen component State Societies, one in each of the Original Thirteen States and one in France. Membership in each State Society is now by representation of those officers who were qualified for membership in that State Society at the time the General Society was established.

The Institution provides that the following should be eligible in their own right to membership in the Society:

1. Officers of the American Army who had continued in service until the end of the war;

2. Those who after three years service in such capacity had resigned with honor, or who had been "deranged" (that is rendered surplus and released as officers) "by the resolution of Congress upon the several reforms of the Army."

Membership by succession and representation is extended by the Institution to "the offspring of such officers as have died in the service" as well as to the descendants of those entitled in their own right to membership.

Original Members signed a draft on the Paymaster General in favor of the Treasurer of their State Society for one month's pay, and subscribed the Institution in the following terms: "We the subscribers, Officers of the American Army, do hereby voluntarily become parties to the foregoing Institution and to bind ourselves to observe and be governed by the principles therein contained,—for the performance whereof we do solemnly pledge to each other our sacred honor." In 1854 the Society extended membership to representatives of those who being eligible as Original Members had not joined it within the time first provided. 148 officers became Original Members of the Maryland Cincinnati.

While the Institution provides that the person who, under the principle of primogeniture, is nearest in relationship to a *propositus*, shall be entitled to first consideration for membership in that line, the Society may regard other facts as preponderant in passing upon applications.

A word as to the naming of the Society may not be out of place. The founders, having in the Institution expressed their admiration for that illustrious Roman, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, and their resolution to follow his example "by returning to their citizenship," thought that they might "with propriety denominate themselves the Society of the Cincinnati." Of Cincinnatus it is said that when (in the fifth century B. C.), the messengers of the people arrived to notify him that due to the peril to the State he had been appointed Dictator, they found him cultivating his farm with his own hand, and that having successfully repelled the invader, he resigned the Dictatorship and returned to plowing his land. The

following list shows the names of the *propositi* officers and the services by them in the War for Independence upon which eligibility for representation in the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland is based. The Society would be glad to hear from persons who may be entitled to represent them in the Society. Communications should be addressed to: The Secretary, Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, Care Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland.

MARYLAND CINCINNATI PROPOSITI UNREPRESENTED IN 1945

(Key to abbreviations in "Claim" column: 3—served 3 years as officer; O. M.—original member; 1854—rule of 1854, mentioned in text; Ret.—retired; Trans.—transferred).

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank & Organization</i>	<i>Claim</i>	<i>Last Recorded Representative</i>
Adams, Peter	Lt. Col. Comdt. 1st Md.	3	
Adams, William	Brevet Capt. Md. Bat.	O. M.	
Adams, William	1st Lieut. 2nd Md.	3	
Anderson, Richard	Capt. 4th Md.	O. M.	
Archer, Henry	Capt. Lee's Battalion Light Dragoons	3	
Armstrong, James F.	Brigade Chaplain	1784	
Bacques, James (Jacques)	1st Lieut. Dorsey's Co. 1st Cont. Art.	O. M.	
Bailey, John	1st Lieut. 3rd Md.	3	
Bailey, Mountjoy	Capt. 7th Md.	O. M.	
Baker, Henry	2nd Lieut. 2nd Md. (Md. Bat.)	C. W.	
Bankson, John	Capt. 1st Pa.	TRANS	John Bankson (elected 1819)
Beall, Samuel B.	2nd Lieut. 4th Md.	O. M.	
Beall, William Dent	Major 2nd Md.	O. M.	
Beatty, Thomas	2nd Lieut. 2nd Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Bell, Samuel	1st Lieut. Gist's Cont. Regt.	3	
Belt, John Sprigg	Capt. 1st Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Bentalou, Paul	Capt. 1st Cavalry, Pulaski Legion	O. M.	
Bevin, Charles	1st Lieut. 6th Md.	3	
Bonham, Malachi	2nd Lieut. 2nd Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Boone, John	Ensign 3rd Md.	3	
Boyer, Michael	Capt. German Regt.	O. M.	
Bracco, James	Lieut. 7th Md.	O. M.	
Brice, Jacob	Capt. 1st Md.	O. M.	
Britten, Joseph	2nd Lieut. Gist's Cont. Regt.	O. M.	
Brown, William	Major 1st Cont. Art.	O. M.	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank & Organization</i>	<i>Claim</i>	<i>Last Recorded Representative</i>
Bruff, James	Capt. 5th Md.	O. M.	
Burgess, Basil	2nd Lieut. 1st Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Burgess, Joshua	Lieut. 1st Md.	O. M.	Represented 1936
Calvert, Jonathan	Surgeon's Mate 1st Cont. Art.	3	
Campbell, William	Capt. 6th Pa.	O. M.	
Carberry, Henry	Capt. Hartley's Cont. Regt.	3	
Carey, John Dow	2nd Lieut. 2nd Md.	O. M.	
Carlisle, John	Major 2nd Canadian (Hazen's) Regt.	O. M.	
Carr, John	1st Lieut. 3rd Md.	3	
Cheever, John	2nd Lieut. 1st Cont. Army	O. M.	
Chesley, Robert	Capt. 3rd Md.	3	
Claggett, Horatio	Brevet Major 1st Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Clements, Henry	Lieut. 5th Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Compton, Edmund	Lieut. 4th Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	Ruell Kieth Compton (elected 1911)
Crawford, Jacob	Lieut. 2nd Md.	Ret.	
Cross, Joseph	2nd Lieut. 2nd Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Culbertson, Samuel	Capt. Montgomery's Pa. Bat. Flying Camp	3	
Davidson, John	Major 5th Md.	O. M.	
Davis, Rezin	Capt. Rawling's Cont. Regt.	O. M.	
Denny, Robert	Lieut. 5th Md.	O. M.	William Denny (elected 1854)
Denwood, Levin	Surgeon 3rd Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Donnelly, Patrick	Lieut. 7th Md.	3	
Dorsey, John	Surgeon's Mate Spencer's Cont. Regt.	3	
Dorsey, Richard	Brevet Major Cont. Art.	O. M.	
Dyer, Walter	2nd Lieut. 3rd Md. (Md. Bat.)	3	
Dyson, Thomas A.	Ensign 2nd Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Eccleston, John	Lt. Col. 1st Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Edmiston Samuel	Lieut. 1st Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Elbert, John L.	Surgeon's Mate 5th Md.	O. M.	John Nicholson Elbert (elected 1834)
Evans, Elijah	Capt. Rawling's Cont. Regt.	O. M.	
Ewert, John L.	Apothecary—Surgical Dept.	O. M.	
Ewing, Nathaniel	Capt. 1st Md.	3	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank & Organization</i>	<i>Claim</i>	<i>Last Recorded Representative</i>
Farmer, Samuel	Lieut. 3rd Md.	3	
Fernandis, James	Capt. Lieut. 1st Md.	3	
Fickle, Benjamin	2nd Lieut. 5th Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Finley, Ebenezer	Capt. Lieut. Deputy Judge Advocate	3	
Ford, Hezekiah	1st Lieut. 1st Md.	O. M.	
Frazier, William	Capt. Lieut. 1st Cont. Art.	3	
Furnival, Alexander	Capt. Smith's Ind. Md. Art.	O. M.	
Gale, John	Capt. and Aide de Camp General Gist	O. M.	John Gale (elected 1849)
Garnett, Benjamin	Lieut. 3rd Cont. Dragoons	O. M.	
Gassaway, Henry	2nd Lieut. 1st Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Gilbert, Michael	Capt. 2nd Canadian (Hazen's) Regt.	3	
Giles, Aguila	Major and Aide de Camp General St. Clair	3	
Giles, Edward	Major and Aide de Camp Generals Morgan and Smallwood	3	
Gist, John	Capt. Gist's Cont. Regt.	O. M.	Joshua Gist (elected 1828)
Gist, Mordecai	Brig. Gen. Cont. Army	O. M.	
Goldsborough, William	2nd Lieut. 1st Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Gray, James Woolford	Capt. 3rd Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Green, David	Ensign 7th Md.	Ret.	
Griffith, Charles	2nd Lieut. 3rd Md.	3	
Grometh, Jacob	1st Lieut. German Regt.	3	
Grosh, Adam	Major 7th Md.	3	
Gunby, John	Brevet Brig. Gen. Cont. Army	O. M.	John Gunby (elected 1831)
Halkerstone, Robt.	2nd Lieut. 1st Md. (Md. Bat.)	3	
Hall, Edward	Capt.	O. M.	
Hall, Elihu	1st Lieut. 1st Md.	3	
Hamilton, Edward	2nd Lieut. 2nd Md.	Ret.	
Hamilton, George	Capt. 4th Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Hamilton, John	1st Lieut. 1st Md.	O. M.	
Hamilton, John Agnew	Capt. 2nd Md.	O. M.	
Handy, Levin	Capt. 5th Md.	1784	Charles Wilson Handy (elected 1896)
Hanson, Isaac	Lieut. 4th Md.	O. M.	
Hanson, Samuel	Lieut. 5th Md.	O. M.	
Hanson, William	2nd Lieut. 4th Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Hardcastle, Peter	1st Lieut. 4th Md.	3	
Hardman, Henry	Major 3rd Md.	O. M.	
Harris, Arthur	Lieut. 2nd Md.	O. M.	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank & Organization</i>	<i>Claim</i>	<i>Last Recorded Representative</i>
Harris, David	Capt. 1st Pa.	TRANS	
Harrison, Elisha	Surgeon's Mate 4th Md.	O. M.	Elisha Harrison (elected 1810)
Hartshorn, John	1st Lieut. 3rd Md. (Md. Bat.)	3	
Hawkins, Henry	Lieut. 5th Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Hawkins, John	Capt. 5th Md.	3	
Haynie, Ezekiel	Surgeon 1st Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	William Leeds Doane (elected 1884)
Haynie, Holland	1st Lieut. 1st Cont. Art.	3	
Henry, John	Capt. 1st Cont. Art.	1854	James Malcolm Henry (elected 1907)
Heron, James Gordon	Capt. 2nd Canadian (Hazen's) Regt.	O. M.	
Hill, Philip	1st Lieut. 3rd Md.	O. M.	
Hillary, Rignal	1st Lieut. 3rd Md.	3	
Holliday, Clement	Paymaster 5th Md.	3	
Hopkins, David	Major 4th Cont. Dragoons	O. M.	
Hoops, Adam	Capt. 2nd Md.	O. M.	
Hughes, Thomas Brogden	Capt. 1st Md.	O. M.	
Jacobs, George	1st Lieut. 6th Md.	3	
Jenifer, Daniel	Physicians & Surgeons Hosp. Dept.	O. M.	
Jones, Samuel	Capt. 3rd Md.	3	
Jordan, John	Capt. 2nd Md.	3	
Keene, Samuel Y.	Surgeons Mate 1st Md.	O. M.	
Lee, Parker Hall	1st Lieut. 4th Md.	3	
Lewis, John	Capt. 2nd Va.	3	
Lewis, Joseph	1st Lieut. 2nd Canadian (Hazen's) Regt.	3	
Luckett, David	Lieut. 3rd Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Lynch, John	Major 4th Md.	O. M.	
Lynn, David	Capt. 4th Md.	O. M.	
Lynn, John	Lieut. 5th Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
McCallister, Archibald	Brevet Capt. 1st Md.	O. M.	
McCoy, John	Lieut. 4th Md.	O. M.	
McFadon, James	Capt. Lieut. 1st Cont. Art.	O. M.	
McGuire, John	Ensign 3rd Md.	3	
MacPherson, Mark	Lieut. 2nd Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
McPherson, Samuel	Capt. 2nd Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Mangers, Nicholas	1st Lieut. 4th Md.	3	
Mann, James	Surgeon 4th Mass.	O. M.	
Markle, Charles	Capt. 3rd Cav. Pulaski Legion	3	
Marshall, Thomas	Surgeon	O. M.	
Marshall, William	Surgeon Hospital Dept.	3	
Meyers, Christian	Capt. German Battalion	3	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank & Organization</i>	<i>Claim</i>	<i>Last Recorded Representative</i>
Middleton, Theodore	2nd Lieut. 2nd Md.	Ret.	
Moore, Zedekiah	1st Lieut. 2nd Md.	3	
Morgan, David	Lieut. German Regt.	3	
Morris, Jonathan	Capt. 2nd Md.	O. M.	William Thomas Morris (elected 1808)
Morrow, David	Surgeon	1784	
Morrow, Robert	Capt. 3rd Cont. Dragoons	3	
Morrow, Samuel	Surgeon	1784	
Muse, Walker	Brevet Major Md. Bat.	O. M.	
Myers, Lawrence	Lieut. 2nd Canadian (Hazen's) Regt.	3	
Nelson, John	2nd Lieut. Gist's Cont. Regt.	3	
Nelson, Roger	1st Lieut. Baylor's Cont. Dragoons	O. M.	John Nelson (elected 1818)
Norris, Jacob	Capt. 6th Md.	O. M.	
Oldham, Edward	Capt. 1st Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	Joseph Eugene Troth (elected 1906)
Parran, Thomas	Surgeon 6th Md.	3	
Pendergast, William	2nd Lieut. 3rd Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Phelon, John	1st Lieut. 3rd Mass.	TRANS	
Pindell, Richard	Surgeon's Mate, 1st Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	Henry Means Pindell
Plunkett, David	Capt. 4th Cont. Dragoons	3	
Porter, Charles	1st Lieut. 7th Md.	3	
Praul, Edward	Capt. 1st Md.	O. M.	
Price, Benjamin	Capt. 3rd Md.	O. M.	
Price, Thomas	Col. 2nd Md.	3	
Price, Thomas Jr.	Lieut. 3rd Md.	O. M.	
Price, William	Capt. 3rd Md.	3	
Raboldt, Jacob	Regt. Quartermaster German Regt.	3	
Raisin, William	2nd Lieut. 1st Md.		
Rawlings, Isaac	2nd Lieut. 1st Cont. Art.	O. M.	
Read, John	2nd Lieut. 2nd Md.	3	
Reed, Philip	Capt. 3rd Md.	O. M.	Philip George Reed (elected 1854)
Reiley, William	Capt. 1st Md.	O. M.	Clajon Reiley (elected 1816)
Revelly, Francis	Capt. 3rd Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Richardson, William	Col. 5th Md.	3	
Richmond, Christopher	Capt. 2nd Md.	O. M.	
Ricketts, Nicholas	1st Lieut. 1st Cont. Art.	O. M.	
Roth, Francis Chas.	1st Lieut. Pulaski Legion	1785	
Rouse, Thomas	1st Lieut. 5th Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Roxburg, Alexander	Major 4th Md.	O. M.	
Rudolph, Michael	Capt. Lee's Battalion Light Dragoons	3	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank & Organization</i>	<i>Claim</i>	<i>Last Recorded Representative</i>
Rutledge, Joshua	2nd Lieut. 4th Md. (Md. Bat.)	3	
Segand, James	Brevet Major Pulaski Légion	3	
Shelmerdine, Stephen	1st Lieut. 4th Md.	3	
Shugart, Martin	1st Lieut. German Regt.	O. M.	
Simms, Charles	Lt. Col. 2nd Va.	TRANS	Henry Clay Taylor (elected 1886)
Simms, James	1st Lieut. 1st Md.		
Skerrett, Clement	1st Lieut. 1st Cont. Art.	O. M.	
Skinner, James John	1st Lieut. 1st Md.	3	
Skinner, Thomas	Lieut. Lee's Battalion Light Dragoons	3	
Smallwood, William	Major General Cont. Army	O. M.	
Smith, Alexander	Surgeons Mate German Regt.	3	
Smith, Charles	Capt. Lieut. 1st Md.	3	
Smith, Edward Miles	2nd Lieut. 1st Md.	O. M.	
Smith, James	Capt. 4th Md.	3	
Smith, John	Brevet Major 5th Md.	O. M.	
Smith, Joseph	Capt. Gist's Additional Cont. Regt.	O. M.	Joseph Elliott (elected 1808)
Smith, Joseph Sim	Cornet, 1st Bat. Cav. Armand's Partisan Corps	Ret.	
Smith, Nathan	1st Lieut. 4th Md.	3	
Smith, Nathaniel	Major Cont. Art.	O. M.	
Smoot, William	2nd Lieut. 2nd Md.	O. M.	Represented 1936
Spurrier, Edward	Capt. 3rd Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Stoddard, Benjamin	Capt. Hartley's Cont. Regt. (Sec. Board of War)	3	
Stone, John Hawkins	Col. 1st Md.	O. M.	
Stricker, John	1st Lieut. 3rd Pa.	TRANS	John Stricker Magruder (elected 1838)
Swan, John	Major 1st Cont. Dragoons	O. M.	James Swan Frick (elected 1881)
Tannehill, Adamson	Capt. Rawling's Cont. Regt.	O. M.	
Teas, William	Cornet 3rd Cont. Dragoons	3	
Texier, John Felix (Philip)	Surgeon Pulaski Legion	1785	
Tillard, Edward	Lt. Col. 4th Md.	O. M.	
Tillotson, Thomas	Physician and Surgeon Hospital Dept.	3	
Toomy, John	2nd Lieut. Gist's Cont. Regt.	3	
Towson, William	2nd Lieut. 4th Md.	O. M.	
Trucman, John	2nd Lieut. 1st Md.	O. M.	
Ware, Francis	2nd Lieut. 5th Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Warfield, Walter	Surgeon 1st Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank & Organization</i>	<i>Claim</i>	<i>Last Recorded Representative</i>
Waring, Basil	2nd Lieut. 2nd Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	
Waters, Richard	Capt. 3rd Md.	O. M.	Arnold Elzey Waters (elected 1930)
Waters, Richard	Capt. Lieut. 1st Cont. Art.	3	
Watts, William	Capt. 1st Cont. Dragoons	3	
Watts, William	Surgeons Mate 2nd Md.	Ret.	
Weltner, Ludowick	Lt. Col. German Regt.	3	
Whitney, Francis	1st Lieut. Grayson's Cont. Regt.	Ret.	
Wilkinson, James	Brevet Brig. Gen. Cont. Army	3	
Wilkinson, Young	1st Lieut. 1st Cont. Art.	O. M.	
Williams, Lilburn	Capt. 3rd Md.	O. M.	
Williams, Osborne	1st Lieut. 3rd Md.	O. M.	
Wilmot, Robert	1st Lieut. 1st Cont. Art.	O. M.	
Winchester, George	2nd Lieut. 4th Md.	O. M.	
Winchester, George	1st Lieut. Gist's Cont. Regt.	3	
Wood, Gerrard	Surgeons Mate 2nd Md.	O. M.	
Woodford, William	Lieut. 1st Md.	3	
Wright, Nathan	2nd Lieut. 3rd Md. (Md. Bat.)	O. M.	

MARYLAND OFFICERS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY REPRESENTED
IN THE MARYLAND SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN 1946

Lieut. Henry Baldwin	3rd Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. Joshua Barney	Continental Navy	O. M.
Capt. Lloyd Beall	1st Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. Thomas Beall	2nd Md. Continental Inf.	
Major William Dent Beall	2nd Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Capt. Perry Benson	5th Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. Thomas Boyd	5th Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Major Benjamin Brookes	3rd Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Capt. William Bruce	5th Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. Joshua Burgess	1st Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. John Dow Carey	2nd Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. Henry Henley Chapman	2nd Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. Edward Compton	4th Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. Joseph Cresap	1st Battalion Md. Rifles in Continental Service	
Lieut. Edward deCourcy	Capt. Edward Veazey's Independent Co. Md. Continental Inf.	
Lieut. Thomas de Russy	Continental Navy	
Capt. Henry Dobson	3rd Md. Continental Inf.	
Capt. Ely Dorsey	2nd Md. Continental Inf.	
Capt. John Worthington Dorsey	Md. State Regiment in Continental Service	
Surgeon's Mate Nathan Dorsey	Hospital Department	O. M.
Capt.-Lieut. Edward Dyer	2nd Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. John Eccleston	1st Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Capt. James Ewing	5th Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.

Capt. Peregrine Fitzhugh	3rd Regiment, Continental Light Dragoons	O. M.
Lieut. Henry Gassaway	1st Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Capt. John Gassaway	2nd Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. John Griffith	7th Md. Continental Inf.	
Surgeon Jacob Hall	3rd Regiment, New Hampshire, Continental Inf.	
Col. Josiah Carvel Hall	4th Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Capt. Levin Handy	5th Md. Continental Inf.	
Lieut. Peter Contee Hanson	Stephenson's Md. Rifle Battalion, Continental Inf.	
Lieut. Col. Commandant John Eager Howard	2nd Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Capt. John Hughes	2nd Canadian Regiment	O. M.
Capt. Andrew Hynes	6th Md. Continental Inf.	
Lieut. Adam Jamison	5th Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Capt. John Courts Jones	4th Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Surgeon's Mate Samuel Young Keene	1st Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Capt. John Kilty	1st Continental Light Dragoons	O. M.
Surgeon William Kilty	4th Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Capt. William Lamar	7th Md. Continental Inf.	
Major Thomas Lancaster Lansdale	3rd Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Capt. James McCubbin Langan	2nd Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. John Tolson Lowe	1st Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Capt. David Lynn	4th Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Major James McHenry	Military Secretary to General Washington	
Col. Luke Marbury	Md. Militia in Continental Service & Pay 1777-1781	
Capt. John Mitchell	4th Md. Continental Inf.	
Capt. Nicholas Ruxton Moore	4th Continental Dragoons	
Capt. John Nicholson	Continental Navy	O. M.
Lieut. Christopher O[h]rendorff	1st Md. Continental Inf.	
Ensign Brian Philpot	1st Md. Continental Inf.	
Lieut. Col. Commandant Nathaniel Ramsay	3rd Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. Col. Moses Rawlings	Additional Regiment, Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Capt. John Reynolds	7th Md. Continental Inf.	
Lieut. and Brevet Capt. John Sears	5th Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Major Jonathan Sellman	1st Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. Col. Alexander Lawson Smith	Rawling's Continental Regiment	
Lieut. Col. Samuel Smith	4th Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. William Smoot	2nd Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. William Truman Stoddert	4th Md. Continental Inf. and Acting Brigade Major to Gen. Smallwood	O. M.
Major John Swan	1st Regiment, Continental Dragoons	O. M.
Lieut-Col. Tench Tilghman	Aide-de-Camp to General Washington	O. M.
Capt. Alexander Trueman	2nd Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Capt. Gassaway Watkins	5th Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Brigadier-Gen. Otho Holland Williams	Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Capt. James Winchester	3rd Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Lieut. Col. Levin Winder	5th Md. Continental Inf.	O. M.
Capt. Robert Wright	5th Md. Continental Inf.	

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

James Monroe. By WILLIAM P[ENN] CRESSON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, [1946]. 577 pp. \$5.00.

There are two things which can be stated with assurance about the late William Penn Cresson's final contribution to the world of letters, *James Monroe*. It provides an interesting study of American historical background from 1774 to 1830. As a biographical study of the fourth president of the United States it is an unconvincing, disappointing piece of work.

It becomes apparent, before progressing far, that Mr. Cresson must have spent much time in painstaking research to have become familiar with the plethora of material which he introduces. In that undertaking he is to be commended. The fault with his work lies rather in his treatment of the subject. The book is intended as an historical biography of James Monroe. As such its purpose should be to afford the reader an opportunity to observe at close hand the characteristics which are responsible for molding the personality of Monroe, and to show how these characteristics exerted their influence on his role in history. Drawing from a reservoir of information and data, which he is eager to spread before his readers, he fails to concentrate as much as he might on Monroe, the man.

Perhaps the material required for an adequate presentation of Monroe is unobtainable. Mr. Cresson, himself, stated, "It is as difficult to reconstruct a plausible life of the author of the famous Doctrine from his literary remains as to visualize those imposing, incredible creations of pre-historic times, whose fossilized foot-prints are the only proof that they ever walked on the earth." However, if the necessary source material could not be located, the biography should not have been attempted.

Mr. Cresson labors under the handicap of feeling obliged to give a picture of Monroe by introducing a number of letters, which unfortunately reveal but little of his private life. The author makes no effort to point out any particular passages or recitals that have a tendency to shed any light on his traits, hobbies, intimate thoughts and personal characteristics. Instead he just introduces them through the book with the hope, apparently, that the reader may be able to spell out from them certain qualities that the author himself cannot.

In all fairness to Mr. Cresson, he has presented certain portions of his descriptive material excellently. His account of the military and political struggle of the Revolutionary War, and his account of Monroe's diplomatic

ventures in France and England should be of interest to all students of American history. He has also included a number of illustrations and photographs to supplement the work.

ALBERT F. REISFELD

The Johns Hopkins University

Poe as a Literary Critic. By JOHN ESTEN COOKE. Edited with an introduction and notes by N. BRYLLION FAGIN. A publication of the Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins Press, 1946. x, 115 pp. \$1.00.

Next to an unpublished work by Poe himself—something that may yet be found in Baltimore—scholars welcome fresh comment on the poet by his contemporaries. This Dr. Fagin gives us by editing from a long-forgotten manuscript in the collection of Mr. William H. Koester of Baltimore an essay by a young novelist who heard Poe lecture in Richmond, September 25, 1849. This was Poe's last public appearance, for he was to die in a Baltimore hospital in less than a fortnight. Cooke, then only nineteen, listened with reverence to a man whose genius he recognized, and later, certainly after the appearance of Griswold's misleading memoir, wrote as a magazine article this essay which is limited to Poe's work as a critic. It is of value, not only for Cooke's opinions, but also for a convincing description of the poet's appearance and his characteristic manner of reading verse, a portrayal which agrees with that of Professor Gildersleeve, who was also present at the lecture. The little book is competently edited and attractive in format. The editor and the owner of the manuscript deserve the thanks of students of Poe.

JOHN C. FRENCH

Tilghman — Tillman Family, 1225-1945. By STEPHEN F. TILLMAN. Washington, D. C.: The Author, 1946. (Lithoprint). 473 pp. \$5.00.

It is understood that this book is the third in a series which this author has produced, each being broader in scope than its predecessor. The first, published in 1930 under the title *The Tillman Family* was limited to matter concerning Christopher Tillman (shown by Greer's *Early Virginia Immigrants, 1623-1666*, as an arrival in Virginia in 1638) and lines traditionally derived from him. In the present work, the author speaks with greater assurance and states that Christopher left three sons, Roger, Gideon, and John. He also treats of the line of Dr. Richard Tilghman, the *propositus* in Maryland of the family of which this reviewer is a member, and presents Richard Tilghman de Faversham (living about the year 1400 in co. Kent, England) as the last common ancestor of Dr. Richard Tilghman and Christopher Tillman. This thesis appears to be very probable but not sufficiently documented to establish it conclusively.

The descent of Dr. Richard Tilghman from Richard Tilghman of Holloway Court in the parish of Snodland, co. Kent, England, living there in the fifteenth century, is well established. This line was reviewed by the College of Arms and a Certificate of Arms issued to a thirteenth in descent from that *propositus* as recently as 1937. While the recording at that time extends no further back than that Richard, there is evidence indicating that he was a grandson of Richard Tilghman de Faversham.

The arms and crest to which entitlement is derived through Dr. Richard Tilghman are those granted to William Tilghman of London, second son of the above *propositus*, in 1468.

This grant obviously included the other descendants of the grantee's father. It would be unusual for a grant to include persons not descended from the grandfather of a grantee, although there are grants in which all of the descendants of a grandfather have been included.

Both the arms and the crest depicted by the author in his frontispiece (he presents no heraldic description) differ somewhat from those granted in 1468. He states however (page 97) that Thomas Tilghman (who is shown as a grandson of Richard Tilghman de Faversham and a forebear of Christopher Tillman of Virginia) settled in Sussex County (England) and that "the coat of arms of the Sussex Tilghman family is the same as that of the Snodland family with the exception that the Sussex branch has the motto: "Spes Alit Agricola."

A motto is not an intrinsic part of a heraldic achievement, and the author may have been misled by the absence of the motto in some examples of the arms granted William Tilghman in 1468.

Unless it can be shown that this grant was one of confirmation of arms in use by his ancestors at least as far back as a common ancestor of the grantee and of the Sussex branch, it is unlikely that identical arms would have been granted one not within the scope of the grant of 1468. It is of course true that armorial bearings existed before the incorporation of the College of Arms, in the time of Richard III, on 2 March 1483/4, and that the above grant is among them, and that early grants frequently confirmed arms which had previously been in use by the grantee's ancestors.

In his introduction or foreword, the author, expressing his own view, (at page vi) states: "Since armorial bearings are hereditary, American descendants of British and Continental families have the unquestionable right to use the arms borne by their ancestors." Had he said no more than that *some* American descendants have the right to use the arms borne by *some* of their ancestors his statement would have been sustainable. The fact is that to prove a right to bear ancient arms of English origin, it is necessary for the claimant to show without break male descent from some person to whom such arms:

- (a) have been granted by patent; and also that they
- (b) have been confirmed at a Visitation; and
- (c) have been officially recorded or registered at the College of Arms.

"Descent cannot be presumed, but must be proved by proper documentary evidence, step by step and link by link." (*Heraldry Explained* by

Charles Fox-Davies (2nd. Edn.) 1925, pp. 12-14). The fact of identity of surname, or indeed proven descent from a common ancestor of that surname does not entitle one not within the scope of the grant to bear the arms so granted.

On page 1 and page iii, the author speculates, with what seems to be some inconsistency, upon the origin of the Tilghman family (incidentally this reviewer attaches no importance to variations in the spelling of surnames) and its history prior to the time as to which "factual information" is available and expresses a belief that the family originated in Southern France "as the Von Till family." About all that can be said with assurance is that Tilghman is styled "an ancient family" by the historians of Kent, and that the sources of the migrations into Kent are well known.

Concerning the arrangement of his work, the author, on the title page states: "The index is by paragraphs in chronological descent from Johannes Tilghman." The index of course follows the arrangement of the text. The description however is not in conformity with the arrangement. There are 3336 paragraphs numbered integrally and many, interspersed among them, bearing decimal identifications. If the identifying numbers were in fact by chronological descent it would be possible (and it is not) to determine the generation and place in the generation of every individual from the number assigned to him. It would also have been of great assistance had the author entered his identifying number in connection with the individual's name at the point where he shows such individual among the issue of a parent (where he omits it) as well as where he treats of such individual. For example, he assigns the number 613 to Christopher Tilghman (the Virginia *propositus*) and shows: "Issue: Roger, b. 1650, Gideon, and John." Roger, so it happens, is described in paragraph 614, immediately following his father, but where is the reader to locate "Gideon" and "John"?

By referring to the index, 9 Gideons are presented any one of which may be the one sought. By re-entering the text with the numbers from the index it is found that the Gideon in paragraph 1687 is the one who is the son of 613. To find the matter as to "John" the son of Christopher aforesaid among the 287 Johns (more or less) shown in the index is a task to which no reader should be subjected and which this reviewer leaves unsolved. It would also have been well had the author in citing any work, for example the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, supplied volume and page numbers.

He has, however, brought together an enormous amount of matter both from fields already covered by others and from personal research in ground not previously explored. He has removed a number of uncertainties and has produced a work which, while not free from errors (and what work of this character is without them?), does provide the reader with the record of many lives well spent in the service of personal liberty, country, and humanity, so that he too may go and do likewise.

HARRISON TILGHMAN

A Brief History of Prince George's County in the Perspective of Three Centuries, Commemorating Its 250th Anniversary. By DANIEL M. GREENE. Avondale, Md.: the Author, 1946. 26 pp.

Although Prince George's County has its quota of distinguished public figures, and events of extraordinary historic interest have occurred on its soil, it has lacked through all its long history a written record of life in the County. Here at last is a brief, but promising, summary of the highlights. The booklet has been made possible through the cooperation of the Prince George's Chamber of Commerce and the 250th Anniversary Celebration Committee.

Mr. Greene reviews rapidly the organization of the County in 1696, the changes in its limits and the growth in population. He then takes a long jump to the present civil divisions of the County, such as the cities and towns, the Washington-Suburban Sanitary Commission, Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, the schools and public utilities. The early history of the County, the stories of Bladensburg, Upper Marlboro, Piscataway and other towns and brief sketches of leading personalities are followed by sketches of historic churches and of a dozen or so of the estates for which the County is famous. The pamphlet presents a sampling of the treat that is in store when a full history of the County is written.

J. W. F.

The Congressional Career of Thomas Francis Bayard, 1865-1885. By CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL. (Georgetown University Studies in History, Number One.) Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1946. 362 pp.

This scholarly study of the Congressional career of one of Delaware's most prominent sons sheds considerable new light on the disputed Presidential election of 1876 and on the creation of the Electoral Commission. Based on the large mass of Bayard Papers, with additional material garnered from other manuscript collections, it is a solid and factual narrative. Bayard's entrance on the Congressional scene and his emergence as a national figure are discussed in detail, and his opinions on public questions are considered in chronological sequence. His participation in the campaigns of 1876, 1880, and 1884, as the favorite son of his native State and Southern elements whom he had befriended during the stormy Reconstruction era, are covered fully. The most important chapters are those dealing with the Hayes-Tilden contest, and there is some new data on this "great theft of 1876."

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Grants in Aid of American Historical Research—The Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, announces that it is prepared to provide a limited number of Grants-in-Aid of Research in the field of Early American History and Culture to the year 1815. These grants will be available to those who have a definite project of research in progress. Applications must be received by April 15, 1947; announcements of awards will be made June 1, 1947. Information and forms for application may be procured from the Director of the Institute, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Lansdale Family—Permit me to correct an error on page 232 of the September, 1946, number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* in regard to the Lansdale family. Major Thomas Lansdale of the American Revolution married Cornelia Van Horn of Philadelphia and had five children, Dr. William Lansdale, Violetta, Cornelia, Eliza and Philip. In the light of further investigation it seems probable that the "Misses Lansdale" mentioned in the letter of L. J. Dennis on page 231 were the daughters of Dr. William Lansdale, consequently nieces of the above mentioned Cornelia and Eliza.—L. L. BOWIE.

Auld Family—In the Chart published on page 244 of the September, 1946, issue of this Magazine there was a typographical error which must be rectified. Hugh, Elizabeth, Sarah and Mary Auld (at bottom of page) were the children, not of Edward who married Sarah Haddaway, but of John and Mary (Sherwood) Auld, of the preceding generation. They were brother and sisters of Edward (1734-1777).—EDITOR.

Reid—I would like to locate the family of Leonard Reid, living in Maryland between 1815 and 1825. His children were named Mathew, Mark, William, Nathan, David, Evalina, Letha and Mary Ellen. The Reids moved to Indiana probably about 1830.

ALTA R. CHRISMAN

Huffer—Can anyone supply the names of the parents of Joseph Huffer who lived in Frederick County, Maryland, 1815-1830? His wife was Catherine Miller. I should also like to have the names of the parents of

Catherine —————, who married Peter Miller, Sr. They lived in Frederick County during the early part of the 19th century. His will was probated in Frederick in 1829.

ALTA R. CHRISMAN,
3456 Orchard St., Lincoln 3, Nebraska

Parker Genealogical Award—The 1946 competition for the best contribution in the field of Maryland genealogy will close at midnight, December 31st. All entries must be received before that time. The judges will be Mr. William B. Marye, Mrs. Thomas S. George and the Director of the Society. The "best genealogy" will be interpreted as that which is found most widely useful in the Society's library. The arrangement, completeness, and clearness of presentation will be considered. The award was established in 1946 by Mrs. Sumner A. Parker (Dudrea W. Parker) through the gift of \$1,000, the income from which will constitute the annual prize.

Index for 1946—Owing to unexpected delay, the index to the current volume of the Magazine (1946) is not available at time of going to press. It will be included with the next number (March, 1947)—EDITOR.

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